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ACTUAL DEMOCRACY.









We Cannot Have PRIVILEGES  
Without RESPONSIBILITIES

*The State Gives Us*  
Protection      Opportunity  
Education      Recreation

*We Give the State*  
Obedience      Service  
Loyalty

# ACTUAL DEMOCRACY

THE PROBLEMS OF AMERICA

By

MARGARET K. BERRY

And

SAMUEL B. HOWE

BOTH OF THE NEWARK, N. J., SCHOOLS



NEW YORK  
PRENTICE-HALL, INC.  
1923



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We dedicate this book to

MARY LEE BERRY

and

HARRIET STROWBRIDGE HOWE



## PREFACE

In offering this book as an elementary discussion of the great problems now confronting the American people, the authors are conscious of many omissions from the list of those topics which are of interest today. They feel, however, that a thorough study of a few topics is more desirable than an attempt to cover the entire field of sociology, economics, and political science in a volume of this character. The need for this and similar books was discovered before the Great War. During the war, in the movement for the reorganization of secondary education conducted by the National Education Association and other bodies, recommendations were frequently made that the last unit of study in a course in the social sciences should contain a treatment of some of the political, social, and economic problems of the American people. New Jersey, by statutory enactment, requires such a course before graduation from high school, and under direction of the Commissioner of Education, a syllabus was prepared in "Problems of American Democracy." The authors acknowledge their indebtedness to this syllabus.

The authors also desire to express their gratitude to the following, who have read the manuscript either in whole or in part, and who have contributed valuable suggestions as to improvement: Dr. David B. Corson, Superintendent of Schools, Newark, N. J.; Messrs. John A. Fitch, Walter Pettit, and Henry Thurston of the New



York School of Social Work; Thomas Mott Osborne, authority on prison reform; D. Fred Aungst, Superintendent, Bernards Township Schools, N. J.; Dr. Rose Howe Jameson, State Home for Girls, Trenton, N. J.; E. R. Johnstone, Director of the Training School at Vineland, N. J.; Dr. G. S. Stevenson, Department of Medical Research of the same institution; and Burleigh Rodick of Hunter College, New York.

The assistance of Miss Clara Nathanson of Plainfield, N. J., in preparing the manuscript, and of Mrs. Harriet S. Howe in compiling the index, is greatly appreciated.

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Newark, N. J.  
December, 1922.

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## CHAPTER I

### THE BASIS AND DEVELOPMENT OF AMERICAN IDEALS

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(FORTHCOMING)

#### THE NATURE OF DEMOCRACY

If asked to define democracy, most people would reply: "It is a government of the people, by the people, and for the people." Yet, before we fully understand this definition, we must consider many

other things. We should inquire concerning government: How it arises? What are its functions, chief types, and the characteristics of each type? What are the qualities of a good government? What are the nature and fundamental principles of American democracy? Does our government fulfill all the conditions necessary for a good government?

It is evident that before saying much more about our government, we should make sure that we understand the exact meaning of several terms. A state is a body of free persons associated together for the common benefit. It has three essential elements: (1) a community of people socially united; (2) a political machinery or government administered by a body of officials; (3) a constitution, either written or unwritten, composed of a set of rules under which the government operates.

Co-operation is necessary for man's progress. This truth has been recognized from the beginning. When written history began, men lived in villages which were usually merely a big family of related people under a patriarch, head man, or group of elders. As civilization progressed, the power and authority of these leaders increased, while the common man became dependent and subordinate. They were made to co-operate, to produce wealth of every kind. Government under such conditions was aristocratic or monarchical. An aristocracy is in theory a government by a selected few of those

best qualified to rule. Another word used to describe this type of government is oligarchy, which means a government by a few. There are several types of oligarchy, ranging from plutocracy, a government by the wealthy, to the dictatorship of the proletariat, a government by the working class. There are various types of monarchy, ranging from a constitutional monarchy, like that of Great Britain, to an autocracy, like that of Louis XIV of France. The genius of the ancient Greek people first conceived the idea of democracy. Aristotle, the great Greek philosopher, said: "That form of government is best in which every man, whoever he is, may act for the best and live happily." But the Greek idea of democracy is not ours: it was government by the whole body of citizens; but citizenship was restricted to those who could prove that both parents had possessed this privilege. "Our modern idea that anyone in the state is a citizen would have shocked the privileged democrats of Athens profoundly."<sup>1</sup>

Democracy may be pure or representative. In a *pure* democracy all citizens take part in law-making; in a *representative* democracy they elect legislators and officials to make and execute the laws. Another name for representative democracy is republic. By the Constitution of the United States, this country is a republic. A republic may

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<sup>1</sup>Adapted from H. G. Wells.

be democratic in form but not in spirit. "Democracy is the antithesis of all government by privilege. It excludes all hereditary right to rule, whether in a single family or in a single class or in any combination of classes. It makes the general welfare of society the end and object of law, and declares that no class, no aristocratic minority, no single group of men, however numerous, however capable, however enlightened, can see broadly enough or sufficiently free itself from bias to perceive a nation's needs in their entirety or guide its destinies for the benefit of all. The conduct of the governed must at every turn check and determine the action of those who make and execute the laws."<sup>1</sup>

From the beginning of our history as a nation, there have been two varying conceptions of our government which are typified by the names of Hamilton and Jefferson. Hamilton distrusted the common citizen, believing him incapable of making important decisions for himself. In order to safeguard the stability of our government, he desired to have the governing done by those men who were successful in business affairs, and who were sufficiently intelligent, he believed, to be equally successful in carrying on the affairs of the nation. Jefferson, on the other hand, believed in expanding democracy as far as possible, and that only through exercising political rights would the average man

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<sup>1</sup>Woodrow Wilson.



gain a political understanding. Andrew Jackson went even further than Jefferson in glorifying the political capacity of the humblest American. Perhaps the future will see the extension of the powers of our government along many new lines of general welfare.

Since the government is merely the people working co-operatively, its machinery must be sufficiently flexible to meet new conditions; yet this flexibility must not lead to weakness. The government must be strong enough to impose its will on all the people, since it is the reflection of the will of the majority of the people. No government could exist without majority rule. Yet, it must not be forgotten that the minority has rights. How minority rights can best be safeguarded is one of the most difficult problems of today. In addition to possessing flexibility and strength, the government must be just. No one group of people should prosper at the expense of other groups. Every individual must possess the same rights in the eyes of the law as every other individual. Thus, it will be seen that a fourth characteristic of good government is equality. No government is good which conspires against the liberty of the individual. "There is a limit to the legitimate interference of collective opinion with individual independence; and to find that limit and maintain it against encroachment is indispensable."<sup>1</sup> The highest

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<sup>1</sup>Adapted from Mill.

amount of liberty is secured to the individual when all are protected against undue interference whether from individuals, masses, or government.

In America we owe our democracy to two significant factors: first, our inherited ideas of liberty; second, our environment of isolation. The latter made possible an experiment in free government subject to less interference by other governments. These factors have given our government flexibility, strength, justice and liberty. The democratic principle is that every responsible unit contributes, but the control is vested only in the units collectively. The right of representation is not a vested right of citizenship, but belongs only to those competent to discharge the obligation assumed. Government is a means, not an end. Our government is the means whereby the principles of democracy may be applied to the public.

#### BRITISH BEGINNINGS OF AMERICAN REPRESENTATIVE GOVERNMENT

It is to England that we must look for the beginning of our political traditions and our principles of representative government. Before democracy can be successful, two conditions must be secured: first, its citizens must have been trained in the practice of co-operation in common affairs. Without this quality the government will fall into

anarchy or else become the tool of unscrupulous men who take advantage of the citizens' lack of political intelligence. The second condition is that there exists a strong unity of purpose which can be created only by one force—a national spirit. England was the first of the European nations to become consciously a nation. The English people had been accustomed to self-government when this national spirit developed. We have seen a limited form of democracy in Athens. Popular government in Athens and in early Rome meant the coming together of citizens in a general assembly to debate and vote on measures presented to them by leaders. As Roman territory expanded and the number of her citizens increased vastly, those who lived at a distance from the city could not exercise the right of popular government, since they were unable to frequent the forum, but it never occurred to them to send representatives to act for them. This was the idea which the English nation contributed to political thought. As far back as Anglo-Saxon times, the land owners of each of the counties of England met twice a year at the county seat. They chose juries to investigate criminal matters and elected assessors to levy the county taxes. To these county folk-moots, or assemblies, the towns and boroughs of the county sent delegates. The English nation was formed by uniting these local organizations into a central

organization without destroying their separate existence. The unity of a nation was thus secured without endangering local freedom.

Before the Norman conquest, the idea of a national legislative law-making body was an assembly of all the warriors. The king and his advisors drew up measures and offered them to a "yes" or "no" vote of the army. But by the time of the conquest, the right of every freeman to take part in such decisions was "retained in theory, but abandoned in practice. Gradually, only the wealthy land owners and the higher clergy appeared. The distances were too great, the expense too heavy, and their influence was too slight for the small land owners to continue attendance. As for the serfs and the town merchants and artisans, they never had the right. Thus, the king and his council of magnates became the sole government of England, enacting the laws and controlling their enforcement."<sup>1</sup> This condition lasted for some 200 years, during which period the English rulers gave away or sold large portions of their private estates from which, at first, they had maintained the expenses of government. It became necessary to find new revenues. King John quarreled with his barons when they demanded their ancient rights, but was forced in 1215 to sign the "Magna Carta" by which he agreed that no tax should be levied

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<sup>1</sup>Adapted from H. G. Wells.



except by a general council of the land-holders. Other principles established by the Magna Carta were:

- (1.) Swift and impartial justice.
- (2.) Trial by jury.
- (3.) Punishment according to the offense committed.
- (4.) Local self-government.
- (5.) Foundations for the future right of habeas corpus.
- (6.) Non-restricted trade.

During the reign of Henry III, John's son, Simon de Montfort summoned to the national council two knights for each shire, and two citizens for each town or borough. Edward I, the next ruler made this a legal practice, since it served the convenient purpose of getting into financial touch with the hitherto unrepresented classes of small farmers, town merchants, and workmen who were acquiring wealth. "At first there was considerable reluctance on the parts of the knights and towns to attend Parliament, but gradually the power they possessed of linking the redress of grievances with the granting of taxes was recognized."<sup>1</sup> They sat in a house apart from the great lords, called the Commons, and as time went on, claimed and established the entire power of taxation and of criticism of all national matters. The English rulers did not

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<sup>1</sup>Commons.

willingly brook this assumption of power by the Commons, and it finally, in the 17th century, resulted in a civil war. Charles I embroiled England in a war with both France and Spain and then came to Parliament for the necessary money. "When Parliament refused supplies, he demanded loans from various individuals, and attempted similar illegal exactions. This produced from Parliament in 1628 a very memorable document, the 'Petition of Right' which defined the status of the English Parliament. The Petition of Right cited the great Charter and rehearsed the legal limitation upon the power of the English king, denying his right to levy taxes or to imprison or punish anyone or to quarter soldiers on the people without process of law. The disposition to state a case is a characteristic which Americans have inherited from England. When President Wilson, during the Great War, prefaced each step in his policy by a 'note,' he was walking in the most respectable traditions of the English."<sup>1</sup>

In 1689 there occurred a further struggle between the king and Parliament which gave light to the third great constitutional document of England; namely, the "Bill of Rights." This restated the rights contained in the previous documents and formulated certain other rights which custom had given Englishmen. These were that:

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<sup>1</sup>Adapted from H. G. Wells

(1.) Laws shall not be suspended without consent of Parliament.

(2.) The right of petition shall not be denied.

(3.) A standing army shall not be maintained in time of peace.

(4.) Subjects cannot be deprived of the right to carry arms.

(5.) Freedom of speech and debate in Parliament must not be interfered with.

(6.) Parliament must meet frequently.

America owes her political institutions to the English, then, because England alone among European states had developed a real parliamentary system which was national, reasonably efficient, and tending further in the direction of democracy than anything the world had yet seen. England in the 17th century, at the time when American democracy was founded, was a people already accustomed to co-operate in the management of common affairs, and to the compromises which such co-operation necessitates. It was a people, therefore, less likely to be governed by theories than by practical considerations. By the gradual development of new political customs, England had become a government in which Parliament was supreme and this meant the supremacy of the land-owning class. The right of private property was written into the fabric of the British Constitution, and was transferred intact to that of

America. The characteristic features of British government were:

(1.) The control of the executive by the legislative branch through the power of withholding financial support to any policy disapproved of by that body.

(2.) The contradictory principle of division of powers that legislature and executive should be generally independent of one another, each in its defined sphere.

(3.) Self-government in the sphere of local affairs.

(4.) A large body of clearly defined political rights of citizenship.

These, in general, are the political contributions of England to America.

## QUESTIONS

1. Discuss the relation of force to obedience to law in an autocracy; in a democracy.

2. "Democracy may lie in the spirit of the people as well as in their form of government." Discuss.

3. Investigate the origin of (a) the grand jury; (b) the petty jury.

4. Investigate the role played by the guilds in the development of town government in the Middle Ages.



5. Read the text of "Magna Carta" and pick out its most important clauses.

6. Read the summons to Parliament of 1295 and discuss its importance.

7. Give a brief summary of English history from the accession of Charles I to the Revolution of 1688.

8. What was the influence of Calvinism on the development of English democracy?

9. Compare the provisions of the "Bill of Rights" with those of the Declaration of Independence.

10. Summarize the contributions made by England to American political institutions.

## CHAPTER II

# THE FORMATION OF AMERICAN DEMOCRACY

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BERRY & HOWE—READINGS IN ACTUAL DEMOCRACY.  
(FORTHCOMING)

### ENGLAND'S IDEALS TRANSFERRED TO AMERICA

As a child repeats in a brief time its ancestral history of geological ages, so the American Colonies, the children of English political institutions, repeated in a few years the slow and painful evolution of representative government which we

studied in the last chapter. Three stages of growth are noted: first, towns and counties united into colonies; second, colonies united in a confederation; third, states formed the nation. Just as in England the two prerequisite conditions for this growth were co-operation and community of purpose, so in America common thought and common action are apparent from the first. In the cabin of their little ship, the Pilgrim Fathers signed the "Mayflower Compact" by which they agreed to "frame such just and equal laws from time to time as shall be thought most meete and convenient for the general good of the colonie unto which we promise all due submission and obedience."<sup>1</sup> And in 1619, Governor Yardley of Virginia summoned two burgesses out of every town, hundred, or other particular plantation, respectively, to the first representative assembly in this country. The Virginia Assembly, however, was set up by orders from the company in England, whereas the Mayflower Compact afforded the first instance of a movement toward responsible self-government originating in America. It did not provide a form of government, but only pledged its signers to obey the government.

From this time on, two Englands developed side by side, branching from the ancestral stem. The settlers of New England added to their British

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<sup>1</sup>Mayflower Compact.

inheritance the ideas of the Hebrew Theocracy set forth in the Bible, of the Christian Commonwealth of German Calvinism, and of the wise and free institutions of the Dutch, learned during their stay in that land. They were familiar with an orderly government which made and administered law. They knew the binding effect of custom or unwritten law. From these two ideals had developed a third, that of a law higher than the law-making body—the Constitution. Both English and Americans were accustomed to carry on local affairs in local assemblies, and general affairs in a more general body.

### LOCAL GOVERNMENT

The local unit appears under different names, such as towns, townships, boroughs, manors, hundreds, ridings, liberties, parishes, plantations, shires, and counties. These can be classified under three general headings: town governments, country governments, and a combination of the two. Each form was modeled on the plan of similar local units in England, modified to meet the necessities of the New World. The English county or shire was a military and judicial sub-division of the kingdom; its officers were the lord-lieutenant, in command of its military forces, and justices of the peace. The other English local unit is called either parish or manor, the former for administration of the church,



and the latter for other purposes of local government. Since the New Englanders were settled in compact, little communities, they preferred a parish assembly to which they gave the name of "town meeting" and which conducted almost all local administration. Counties existed in New England for judicial and military functions.

In the South, local government fell into the direction of the chief man of the parishes without election, but in New England it was in the hands of the voters. In the Middle Colonies the county officers were elective, in some cases there being a county board of advisors made up of representatives of the towns. With development of counties in the Southern colonies, came the county court which had administrative, as well as judicial, powers. It computed and assessed county expenses. The sheriff was the chief executive officer. There was also a lieutenant in charge of the military organizations of the county. The striking features of Virginia local government were: first, the conduct of public affairs by select bodies of men without the active share by the majority of the voters; and second, the exercise of the principal functions of local government by officers of the county. While in New England the towns sent deputies to the colonial assembly, in Virginia the members of the House of Burgesses were from the counties. The officers were appointed by the governors; the people

were debarred from any direct conduct of affairs. While local government in New England gave the people much practical political education, that of Virginia developed a class of intelligent public-spirited leaders.

### GENERAL COLONIAL GOVERNMENTS

Developing earlier than the local governments and always possessing greater powers, the general colonial governments may be grouped on the basis of the source of authority in each, as charter, proprietary, and provincial colonies. The first group held written charters or constitutions, binding on both Crown and colonies; but in the third group, precedent and the governors' orders were the only Constitution. Yet these forms were essentially alike: in each there was an elective legislature, and the suffrage was restricted to landholders, or in some colonies, to those belonging to a certain church. In Connecticut in 1775, out of 200,000 population, there were only 4,325 voters.

The lower house assembly or House of Burgesses elected the legislature proper, and the upper house, the council, was appointed by the governor, and was solely responsible to him. The governor had the veto power and the power of appointment. In all but two colonies he was appointed by the King and consequently neither in sympathy with nor liked by the legislature which frequently hampered

his action by its control over the raising of revenues.

Thus it will be seen that the political organization of the colonies was closely patterned upon that of England. A governor corresponded to the king, the council to the House of Lords, and the assembly to the House of Commons. Just as in English political history the King and the Commons were in conflict, so in the colonies frequent differences arose between the popular assembly and the governor, especially if he were not elected by the people. The members of the assembly used their right to levy taxes as a powerful weapon against royal officers who might have ruled in most despotic manner had the assembly not possessed this check. The frequent disputes over finances furnished splendid training in self-government and prepared the way for the American Revolution. The assemblies refused to vote the governor's salary until he agreed to do as it wished. Franklin called this system one of legislation by bargain and sale. This power over the purse gave the legislatures virtual control of the government. Not only were the governors at the mercy of the assemblies, but the colonial judges as well. As their salaries were fixed and paid from year to year, they were not disposed to ignore the popular wish.

It was accepted that all English statutes in effect at the time of the first settlement were law in the colonies, and that the acts of the colonial assem-

blies must be in conformity to English law. The Crown governed the colonies directly by a Commission known as the Lords of the Board of Trade and Plantations. This Board reviewed all laws passed by colonial assemblies and issued instructions to the governors to veto specific laws, and to carry out certain policies.

The underlying cause of the American Revolution was the character of the old colonial system. This system viewed the colonies as dependencies, not as integral units of the parent state and subjected the colonies to the political control of prerogative and economic control of the laws of trade and navigation. The colonial problem was a difficult one. To turn the colonies adrift to shift for themselves would have been regarded as cruel even by the colonists; to recognize them as a part of the nation with the same privileges possessed in the home land seemed unwise because of the distance; to grant them home rule under merely nominal English control seemed to risk the prosperity of the commerce of the mother country. Accordingly, a restrictive system grew up which was due more to ignorance than deliberate malice. This system may be summarized as a triple monopoly of shipping, trade, and manufacture, and was approved by the leading economic writers of the time. There were navigation acts aimed to protect English shipping from competition; acts of

trade aimed to give to English merchants a monopoly in colonial trade, and other acts which aimed to give English manufacturers a monopoly in the colonial markets. It seems strange to us that such a system, so selfish in motive and so unsound in principle, was endured for over a hundred years without serious protest. Yet its actual administration did not prevent great material prosperity in the colonies. Under British law, their property rights were secured; their shipping was protected by the British flag; and they were partners of Englishmen at home in the very monopolies established by these acts; finally, they were more active in political life than most of them could ever have been in England. Nevertheless, such a system of paternalism could not be forever tolerated by a sturdy liberty-loving people dwelling 3,000 miles from the seat of government. It must not be forgotten that the system was loosely administered and rarely enforced, and the colonists took advantage of the laxity of home government and evaded these laws on every possible occasion.

#### SCHEMES OF COLONIAL UNION

Before the time of Franklin, the vital necessity of some type of union for purposes of administration had been perceived both in England and the colonies. There is scarcely a collection of official documents from this period which does not contain



one paper suggesting such a program. In 1754, Governor Shirley, with royal approval, called an assembly of colonial representatives at Albany which considered and endorsed a plan for union drawn up by Franklin. This plan suggested a council to be elected by the colonies and a president to be appointed by the King. Military appointments were to be made by the president and approved by the council; civil appointments were to be made by the council and approved by the president. It also proposed to hold an annual meeting of these representatives, to maintain a colonial army, to control public lands, to pass laws effecting the public good, and to levy taxes for common undertakings. The weakness of the plan was that it set up no machinery whereby the council could control individual citizens or refractory provinces. The colonies disliked the plan, fearing that it gave too much power to the Crown, while the English government was unwilling to grant so much home rule to the colonies. Within a few years, the home government decided to adopt a more vigorous policy which included the strict enforcement of existing laws, the levying of direct and indirect taxes in the colonies, and the use of this revenue to support a standing army there. The announcement of this policy set in motion a train of events which led inevitably to a union of the colonies and to independence.

## THE CONTINENTAL CONGRESS

Even yet there was no thought of independence in the colonies. Otis, one of the leaders of protest, himself says: "Were the colonists to have the choice between independence and subjection to Great Britain upon any terms above absolute slavery, I am convinced that they would accept the latter." The passage of the Stamp Act attracted little notice in England, and Franklin wrote home: "We might as well have hindered the sun's setting. Since it is done, let us make as good a night of it as we can." He seems to have had no doubt that the act would be accepted and enforced. Not so, Patrick Henry. Taking his seat in the Virginia assembly, he almost immediately moved a set of resolutions affirming the right of the colonists of Virginia to tax themselves, and startled the house with the immortal words: "Tarquin and Caesar had each his Brutus; Charles, the first, his Cromwell; and George, the third, may profit by their example." What cared Henry that he was interrupted by cries of "Treason" by the speaker and other members? "If this be treason," went on the fiery young man, "make the most of it." These resolutions were circulated through all the colonies, and a circular letter was sent urging them to be represented in a Congress in 1765 to take suitable action against the Stamp Act. This Congress, the

first of the Revolution, met in the City Hall at New York, and adopted resolutions setting forth the essential rights of Englishmen in respect to trial by jury, taxation, and representation.

That the colonial problem was in a dire state was recognized by many able Englishmen. Wisdom dictated one of three lines of action: repeal of obnoxious legislation; firm but just enforcement; or separation of the colonies from the Empire. But at the King's command the British ministry adopted neither of these policies, and instead procured the passage of new laws as intolerable and contrary to the spirit of the British constitution as they were injurious to the colonies. These laws provoked the first Continental Congress in 1774. This body met in Philadelphia and adopted a Declaration of Rights and Grievances, setting forth thirteen acts of Parliament as distinct violations of the rights of the colonists, whose repeal was necessary to restore harmony with Great Britain. It also pledged the colonies represented to a policy of non-importation and non-consumption of any British goods, and provided for the creation of committees throughout the colonies to enforce this policy. The Congress drafted a petition to the King, an address to the people of Great Britain, and a memorial to the people of the colonies. Of these papers and their authors, Chatham said: "For solidity of reason, force of sagacity, and wis-

dom of conclusion, no nation or body of men can stand in preference to the General Congress at Philadelphia." Not the least important outcome of this gathering was the broadening of the minds of its members by their free intercourse in the wealthiest and most cultured city in America. Sectional prejudice disappeared, and as Patrick Henry said: "The distinctions between Virginians, Pennsylvanians, New Yorkers, and New Englanders are no more. I am not a Virginian but an American."

Even then the colonists hoped to obtain, not independence, but a repeal of obnoxious laws, and the adoption of a just and more tolerant policy by England. In October 1774, Washington wrote: "Independence is not desired by any thinking man of America." Five weeks before Lexington, John Adams stated: "That the assertion that the people of Massachusetts were eager for independence was as great a slander on the provinces as ever was committed to writing." Vainly the dying Chatham moved to take the troops from Boston. North introduced a bill as liberal in spirit from his standpoint as was the restriction policy of the North at the close of the Civil War from the standpoint of the Republican leaders. While this and other measures were pending, Burke delivered his immortal speech on conciliation. "I do not know," flames out his indignant protest, "the method of drawing up an indictment against a whole people."

But neither colonists nor Englishmen understood the situation. The day of the olive branch was gone forever, and the American democracy was about to take its place in the family of free nations.

#### THE MEANING OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION

Colonization was favorable to the growth of new ideas in a new world. The English government had systematically encouraged, or even compelled, the more radical minds to emigrate to America. Thus an ever-growing breach was created between the political thought at home and in the New World. The government neglected to enforce in the colonies the very laws which were strictly enforced at home. It was the decision by the English ministry to enforce existing legislation, especially those laws restricting commerce and manufacture, which drove the colonists into a position of antagonism and open war. As Abbott says: "The conflict then begun was not as we see it now: the desperate unanimous rising of an oppressed continent driven to rebel by unbridled and unbearable tyranny, as patriotic historians following the lead of Revolution orators long pictured it. Still less was it the first step in the conscious deliberate attempt of a despotic king bent on the destruction of English liberties, as the Whigs declared. It was the translation into arms, of thoughts and interests long tending consciously and unconsciously to rupture. The culmination



of antagonisms, old and new, between two powerful forces," he says, "and two conflicting doctrines of government. It was no mere conflict between a mother country and her colonies. Behind the rivalry lay the antagonism of great classes and interests in every state, which, sooner or later, were to contest for power."

Two great issues were joined: was there to be a British Empire, ruled by Parliament, or a sort of a federation, with Parliament ruling in England and the colonial legislatures ruling in the several colonies? No taxation without representation meant to the Englishman, no taxation except by the House of Commons. He cared nothing how members were elected to that House; he believed in virtual representation: that every member in Parliament represented all Englishmen. The colonies believed in actual representation: that a member of the legislature represented a definite constituency. "The Revolution was right," says Professor Hart, "because it represented two great principles of human progress. In the first place, as the Americans grew in importance and in wealth, they felt more and more indignant that their trade should be hampered for the benefit of men overseas. They stood for the principle of the right of an individual to the products of his own industry, and their success had opened to profitable trade a thousand ports the world over. In the second place, the

Revolution was a resistance to arbitrary power exercised at that moment by a combination in Parliament which threatened the existence of popular government in England." A distinguished Englishman has said: "Englishmen now understand that in the American Revolution you were fighting our battles."

### INDEPENDENCE

Early in 1776 a pamphlet entitled, "Common Sense," written by Thomas Paine, an English Quaker, then living in Philadelphia, boldly proclaimed that America had nothing in common with the British Imperial plan, and thus was a clarion call to Independence. On the 7th of June, Richard Henry Lee rose in Congress and moved that "these united colonies are, and of a right ought to be, free and independent states." To Thomas Jefferson was intrusted the drafting of the exact form in which our independence was to be declared to the world. On July 4, 1776, his draft was submitted to a vote of Congress. On July 5, the Declaration was signed by the President of the Congress and sent to the assemblies. On August 2, the engrossed copy was signed by the members of Congress. "It was a momentous document," says Abbott, "at once a statement of principles and the subtlest of appeals to American sentiment and prejudice. Its language breathed the loftiest

sentiments of humanity and appealed to every emotion of justice and liberty against despotic tyranny. It summoned all to resist, and the sounding splendor of its words, no less than its immortal sentiments, make it a model of all such appeals. However vague its political philosophy or weak its historical basis or distorted its charges of fact, it became the inspiration of the conflict which produced it, and remains a far-sounding trumpet blast of liberty." In it are enunciated the following principles of democracy:

1. That all men are created equal.
2. That governments are instituted among men deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed, and that,
3. For good reason, the people may abolish the old form of government, and institute a new form.

## QUESTIONS

1. Explain the form of local government developed in the Middle Colonies, and account for this form.
2. Group the colonies under the classification of the general colonial governments given in the chapter.
3. What was the mercantile policy as applied to colonies?
4. What different interpretations of the meaning

of the American Revolution do you gain from this chapter?

5. The Declaration of Independence mentions certain inalienable rights. Discuss.

6. Show the influence of the ocean and the wilderness in promoting American democracy.

FREEDOM THROUGH DEMOCRACY



Thomas Jefferson drafting the  
Declaration of Independence 1776

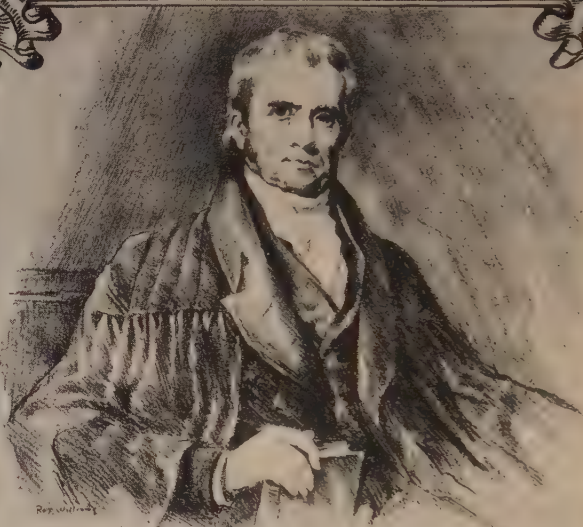
“Though the will of the majority  
is in all cases to prevail, that  
will, to be rightful, must be  
reasonable; the minority possess  
their equal rights, which equal  
laws must protect.”

Thomas Jefferson

MAKERS OF AMERICAN IDEALS



## JUSTICE IN GOVERNMENT



John Marshall - 1755-1835

for 34 years Chief Justice of the  
United States Supreme Court, and  
Founder of American Constitutional Law

"The Constitution, which began  
as an agreement between conflicting  
states, Marshall transformed into a  
charter of National life. When his  
own life closed, his work was  
done - a nation had been made."

## MAKERS OF AMERICAN IDEALS

## CHAPTER III

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# THE CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES AND AMERICAN POLITICAL POLICIES

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(FORTHCOMING)

### THE ARTICLES OF CONFEDERATION

The effort to bind the thirteen distinct states into one effective government was greatly complicated by differences in the original stock and in the

physical conditions and isolated life of the times, which perpetuated sectionalism. The New Englanders were accustomed to look at all matters from the religious point of view and they believed that relations between God and mankind were adjusted according to a contract. Therefore, they based their political ideas also on the contract theory: that government must rest on the consent of the governed. They were accustomed to a government which interfered actively in their everyday life and in which they took a direct part. Their livelihood depended to a great degree upon the encouragement or protection afforded by the government; politics and industry were therefore closely joined. In the great Atlantic coastal plain to the southward was a land of sluggishly moving rivers and rich alluvial soil near the sea-coast, and of foothills and mountains. Yet with all the differences of geography and occupation, there were many forces tending to draw all the Americans together. English was the great common language of all sections and all were equal heritors of the religious, legal, and political institutions of the home-land. The Revolution had forced a realization of the need for closer union. There were common grievances; there was prospect of remedy only in combining. Yet it was long before a common government was elected. The Continental Congresses were no such government; their vote

was regarded only as a voluntary agreement of the delegates resting solely on the good faith of the respective colonies for its observance.

Three weeks before the Declaration of Independence, the Continental Congress appointed a committee to draft a plan of confederation, which was not finally ratified until 1781. It was no separation of powers in the government thereby established. Everything was to be in the hands of Congress which might, however, appoint an executive committee to act when it was not in session. With great care the Articles of Confederation separated general powers of government from those purely local in character, and nearly every power that was national in scope was granted to Congress except two—the most necessary of all—the power of taxation, and the power of regulating commerce. It was too much to expect that colonies who had gone to war with one government in order to preserve their own control over these vital powers should at once grant them to another government, even though that government was one of their own creation. Congress could negotiate treaties, but not safeguard them until they were made; it could borrow money, but give no security for repayment; it could ask, but not command—so, although “dressed like a government,” it had “no place to go.”

One of the chief weaknesses of the Confederation

was the inability of Congress to secure sufficient funds. The currency was in a hopeless condition, for there were so many varieties of money in circulation that it was difficult to determine how much any piece was worth, and the same coin varied in value from state to state. Heavy taxation and the extreme severity of the laws for debt created great suffering. There was a very bitter feeling against lawyers who made their living by conducting law suits against insolvent debtors or who were connected with courts which threw the poor into prison for debt. Mobs prevented the sessions of courts, jails were broken open, a condition approaching civil war followed, and the states seemed as likely to break up as the Confederation itself. Says John Marshall in 1787: "I fear that they have truth on their side who say that man is incapable of governing himself."

#### FORMATION OF THE CONSTITUTION

Yet all the time while many liberal-minded men despaired of the future, there were still some who worked for a real government. They tried to secure amendments to the Articles of Confederation which would safeguard the rights of large and important groups of economic interests and prevent further disorder. In the Spring of 1785 at the invitation of Washington, the Mount Vernon Conference paved the way for a convention at



Annapolis in 1786, at which it was hoped that commissioners from all of the states would be present. As only five states were represented, it was proposed that a convention of delegates from all the states meet at Philadelphia in May, 1787, "to take into consideration the situation of the United States, to devise such further provisions as it appears to them necessary to render the Constitution of the Federal Government adequate to the exigencies of the Union, and to report such an act for that purpose to the United States in Congress assembled." Accordingly, Congress called a convention to meet at the time and place specified by the Annapolis gathering "for the sole and express purpose of revising the Articles of Confederation and to report such alterations as should render the Federal Constitution adequate to the exigencies of government and the preservation of the Union."

When this convention assembled in May, it was evident that the conservative elements of the nation who appreciated the national danger were well represented. About half of the delegates were college men and others like Washington and Franklin were experienced in a knowledge of men or of practical politics. "My wish," wrote Washington, "is that the Convention may adopt no temporizing expedients, but probe the defects of the Constitution to the bottom and provide a radical cure whether they are agreed or not." By

careful study of the organization of ancient and modern political systems, Madison prepared himself for the leading role in the convention. New York sent Alexander Hamilton, who had for years worked for a stronger central government. New Jersey was represented by William Paterson, a lawyer of sound ability and clear judgment, although perhaps somewhat narrow-minded. Pennsylvania sent James Wilson, a university-trained Scotchman, learned in history and legal theory. We are indebted to Madison's notes for our knowledge of this convention. The Pennsylvania representatives proposed that the large states should have more weight than the small in the convention, while the Virginia representatives demurred. On May 25, the convention organized and unanimously chose Washington as President. On May 29, the Virginia plan was presented by Randolph, proposing that the right of suffrage in the national legislature should be in proportion either to the taxes paid or to the number of free inhabitants; that the legislature should consist of two houses, the members of the first to be chosen by the people of the several states, while the members of the second house were to be chosen by the other house. This national legislature was to have all the powers of Congress under the Confederation and such other powers which the states were incompetent to exercise. Provision was made for a National

Executive, a National Judiciary, the admission of new states, and for the giving of power to the National Legislature to call forth the Militia against any state failing to fulfill its duty. The central theory of this plan was the rejection of the Old League of Friendship and the establishment of a National Government over men.

But the small state men representing Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Maryland, and Delaware wished rather to reform the old system than to build anew, fearing that the larger states would swallow up the small. "New Jersey," declared Paterson, "will never confederate on the plan before the committee. A Federacy supposes sovereignty in the members composing it, and sovereignty supposes equality." By the middle of June, practically the entire Virginia plan had been approved, but Paterson was not through and suggested a revision and improvement in the Confederation. The New Jersey plan proposed to grant to Congress the right to levy import taxes and to enforce collection of requisitions on the states, for a plural executive. For some time there was a deadlock and it was perceived that there must be mutual concession. "All the discussion seemed to lead to nothing and Franklin solemnly proposed imploring the assistance of heaven. "I have lived, sir, a long time," he said, "and the longer I live the more convincing proofs I see of this

truth, that God governs in the affairs of men." He advocated the opening of morning sessions with prayer. Some delegates thought such action would arouse suspicion of dissension in the convention and the motion was not adopted. At length, on July 5, a committee recommended proportional representation for the first branch of the legislature, and that all money bills should originate in that branch, but that in the second branch each state should have an equal vote.

Although the dispute between the Virginia and the New Jersey plans ended in compromise, the central clause of the Constitution is to be traced back to Paterson. "This Constitution and the laws of the United States which will be made in pursuance thereof; and all treaties made hereafter which shall be made under the authority of the United States shall be the supreme law of the land; and the judges in every state shall be bound thereby, anything in the Constitution or laws of any state to the contrary notwithstanding." This clause is worth more than a mere casual reference when we recollect its momentous consequences, for without it our whole government would be unworkable. "It makes our government primarily one of law and not of men." The chief problems that remained were to determine how far the new government's power should go and at the same time to leave to the states every power which

might be most beneficially administered by them. The general provision, giving to the National Legislature all the powers of the old Congress and the right to legislate in all matters beyond the competence of the several states was made more specific by authorizing it to coin money, establish post offices, borrow money, establish uniform rules of naturalization, define and punish piracy on the high seas, declare war, raise and support armies, provide and maintain a navy, and "to make all laws which shall be necessary and proper for carrying into execution the foregoing powers." After they had agreed on proportional representation in the lower house, it became necessary to settle the question of the basis of representation. Some of the delegates feared to establish the number of representatives on population alone. The North and South differed on the propriety of counting slaves. If all the members had believed in democracy as we understand it today, the problem would not have been difficult of solution, but the Southern delegates believed that system existed for the preservation of property, and the fear was also expressed of the increasing influence of the Western states that might soon be established. At the same time that the Congress of the Confederation was framing the Ordinance of 1787, the Philadelphia Convention was seriously considering the propriety of insuring the permanent political in-



feriority of the growing population of the Middle West. Morris declared that "the busy haunts of men, not the remote wilderness, was the proper school of political talents. After the Western people get the power into their hands, they will ruin the Atlantic interests. The back members are always most adverse to the best measures." Gerry moved that to secure the liberties of the states already confederated, the number of representatives sent to the first branch of the National Legislature by the new states should never exceed the number sent by the old, but this narrow-minded view did not prevail. "The majority of people wherever found ought in all questions to govern the minority," said the clear thinker, Wilson. "After the interior country should acquire this majority, it will not only have the right, but will avail itself of it whether we will or no. This jealousy mislead the policy of Great Britain with regard to America." But the question concerning the slaves was more stubbornly fought. South Carolina, Delaware, and Georgia insisted that all the slaves ought to be counted, while North Carolina suggested the counting of three-fifths of the slaves.

Another question debated at this time was how direct taxes should be apportioned, and these two issues were bound together in a second compromise, by which it was agreed that both representation

and direct taxation be apportioned according to population, five slaves being counted as equal to three free persons. A third compromise between the North and South was made conceding the desire of the former that Congress be granted the power to aid the Merchant Marine by passing navigation acts, while at the same time throwing a sop to the slave owner of the South in the form of the statement that Congress should not prohibit the slave trade for 20 years. The convention was determined to keep the three departments of the government separate and independent. The result was the creation of the Presidential System of Government: "One of the two great and successful forms of popular national government now in use in the civilized world." Out of a debate lasting for three weeks, during which over 30 distinct votes were taken as to the method of election alone, the Electoral System was adopted. By this plan it was intended to place the responsibility on persons qualified, while at the same time not augmenting the power of any official body in the states or of either branch of Congress. On the 17th day of September, 1787, the Convention finished its work and transmitted the new Constitution to Congress with the suggestion that "it should afterwards be submitted to a convention of delegates chosen in each state by the people thereof, under the recommendation of its Legislature for

their assent and ratification; and that upon each Convention assenting to, and ratifying the new instrument, it should go into effect." Eleven days later, Congress in New York voted to send the Constitution to the state legislatures to be transmitted by them to conventions chosen by the voters of the representative commonwealths. This whole process was distinctly different from that provided by the several legislatures. The revolutionary character of this procedure is pointed out by Professor Burgess when he says, "What it actually did, stripped of all fiction and verbiage, was to assume constituent powers, ordain a Constitution of government and of liberty, and demand a plebiscite thereon, over the heads of all existing legally organized powers. Had Julius or Napoleon committed these acts, they would have been pronounced *coups d'etat*." The reasons for this disregard of their existing legal procedure may be stated as follows: (1) it did not require unanimous approval between states; (2) the Constitution would be the stronger for being sanctioned by special conventions rather than temporary legislatures; (3) there was a better chance of getting the right kind of citizens elected to a constitutional convention than to a legislature. When it became necessary to defend this revolutionary deviation from the instructions originally given the delegates, Madison wrote brilliant articles in the "Federalist" showing

that the delegates were bound to revise the Articles so as to render them adequate to the exigencies of the Union. But as no such adequate government could be made by revising the Articles, he urged that it was of greater importance to the happiness of the people of America that the Articles of Confederation should be disregarded and an adequate government be provided and the Union preserved than that an adequate government should be omitted and the Articles of Confederation preserved; (4) in all great changes of government, forms ought to give way to circumstances.

On September 25, 1789, Congress proposed ten amendments, constituting a Bill of Rights, made up of the principal guarantees of liberty contained in the state constitutions, and these amendments were accepted by all. With the adoption of the Constitution, closes an eventful chapter in the history of the United States. Other and even more important chapters were, and are, still to be written. "Was the system suited to the needs of an expanding people? Was the distribution of authority between the National Government and the States so nicely adjusted that the complicated political mechanism would stand the strain of local interest and national growth? Would the people who had founded a national government grow so strongly in national spirit and patriotism that there would be a real bond of affection and of

mutual goodwill supplementing and strengthening the formal ties of the law? Will this nation, so conceived and so dedicated, lay aside the swaddling clothes of national isolation and selfish materialism and assume her rightful and imposing place in the sisterhood of free and peaceful nations?"

### THE MEANING OF THE CONSTITUTION

No student can understand American democracy without a clear realization of what our Constitution is and what it is not. Says Bryce: "America is a commonwealth of commonwealths; a republic of republics." The Constitution established a national government, not a mere league; for it does not wholly depend on the states. It claims directly the obedience of every citizen and acts immediately upon him through its courts and executive officers. The states are not mere subdivisions of the union like the departments of France. They have an authority of their own over their citizens.

The powers assigned by the Constitution to the Federal Government relate to matters which are common to the nation as a whole or which can be handled most efficiently and satisfactorily by the National Government. The most common of these are treaties and foreign relations, the army and navy, commerce, currency, patents and copyrights, post-offices, and taxation for support of the



government. All other powers not delegated to the Federal government are reserved to the states.

#### THE ATTAINMENT OF NATIONAL CONSCIOUSNESS

Bryce in the American Commonwealth said that: "The acceptance of the Constitution made the American people a Nation." While this is true, it was not clearly understood until the Civil War. In 1798 the Kentucky and Virginia resolutions, inspired by Jefferson and Madison, affirmed that state sovereignty implied the right on the part of a state to nullify an act of the central government. At the close of the second war with Great Britain, the Federalists in the Hartford convention affirmed the same right. Thus it will be seen that there existed in this country a considerable body of opinion, both North and South, which had grave doubts as to whether the nation was stronger than the individual states which composed it. Eventually, the doctrine of state sovereignty was abandoned in the North, but jealously maintained it in the South. During Jackson's administration South Carolina attempted to nullify a tariff law, and Calhoun and Hayne vigorously upheld the doctrine first announced by Jefferson and Madison that the Constitution was a compact between sovereign states: that in all contracts there are two parties, and that in the case of the Federal Compact from the standpoint of the

individual state, the state was one party and the other states taken together, the other party. If the other party, the majority of the states, secured the passage of a law which threatened to injure the interests of the individual state, it was clearly a violation of a contract to "form a more perfect union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquility, provide for the common defense, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty." Furthermore, they ingeniously reasoned that the sole judges as to whether a contract was broken were the parties thereto. Accordingly, it seemed right to these leaders to maintain that a state so injured could declare the injurious act a breach of contract and forbid the execution thereof within its own borders.

Such in brief was the theory of the South which seemed to justify both nullification and secession. Historically it appeared to be based on sound reasoning. It did not, however, take into consideration the fact that the American nation, as a whole had outgrown this theory and had adopted unconsciously, until it was magnificently proclaimed by Webster, an entirely different conception of the nature of our Federal Government. In Webster's reply to Hayne, in 1830, he emphasized the following facts: first, that the people of the nation made the union; second, that if Congress exceeded its powers, the Constitution itself provided

a tribunal—the Supreme Court—to arbitrate between the individual state and the Federal Government; third, that the authority to declare laws null and void could not be vested in a state or any group of states which did not include the entire nation.

From 1830 the issue was clearly joined between states' rights and national sovereignty, and it took the expansion of the West and the Civil War to give the destructive doctrine of nullification its death-blow and to establish complete national feeling and national consciousness.

In America individual liberty and right to a livelihood are derived from the Constitution. Civil liberty, equality of economic opportunity, equality before the law, the right to hold and dispose of the just gains of one's labor or skill, are fundamental American rights, and constitute the foundations of our whole political and social system. American democracy differs from every other form of democracy that the world has seen, in that the sovereign people, while framing the Federal Constitution, reserved to themselves all rights not specifically delegated to their government, and set up courts of justice to protect the humblest individual from interference with his privileges and rights even by the government itself. There is such a division of powers between the Federal Government, on the one hand, and the several

states, on the other, as leaves each sovereign in its particular field, thus cultivating a double loyalty and patriotism to the state and to the nation. It recognizes the institution of private property, but demands that all property shall bear its just share of the expenses of government; it recognizes that its safety and perpetuity rest upon the education of all its citizens. It is a government by public opinion in which honesty and fair play are recognized as fundamental to lasting success. It guarantees to every individual the right to his own religious opinions and believes in and adheres to the principles of the total separation of church and state.

We have now traced the evolution of American democracy from its beginnings on English soil to its transfer and re-creation in the Western Hemisphere. With this background, we must now approach the great problems which confront the American people today. We have solved, or are in the process of solving, our greatest problems of a political nature. The development of modern industry and the Great War have brought home more clearly than ever before the necessity of putting all our public institutions upon a democratic basis. Social betterment is itself a democratic idea. It means obtaining good living conditions for all through the joint action of all. There can be no welfare for the American nation if individual citizens are denied welfare. Without team work

the welfare of every individual cannot be secured. The extension of our democratic ideals from political to social and economic phases of our natural life is the immediate problem before the American people. "In America we have a rushing political democracy, a tolerable social democracy, and a farcical economic democracy. We have as much political equality as we demand, we have as much social equality as we merit, and we have no economic equality at all."

Our problem is to get every American citizen, from the humblest home and the commonest employment to those enjoying the most important economic, governmental, scientific, and religious recognition, to understand his obligation to make all that it is possible of himself as a factor in the better functioning of American democracy. The remainder of this book will treat separately some of the principal problems of American democracy.

### QUESTIONS

1. Show the influence of the ocean and the wilderness in promoting American democracy.

2. Memorize each of the following: the preamble of the United States Constitution, Lincoln's Gettysburg Address, and the last paragraph of Lincoln's Second Inaugural.

3. What are the foundations of civil liberty



in the United States? (See Article 3, section 9, paragraph 2, and the Amendments).

4. Compare the rights and privileges contained in your state constitution with those guaranteed by the Federal Constitution.

5. Compare the arguments of the Anti-Federalists with those of Senator Johnson against the League of Nations.

6. Under what circumstances were the Kentucky and Virginia resolutions adopted?

7. Read and summarize the provisions of Calhoun's Exposition, South Carolina's Ordinance of Secession, and Lincoln's Second Inaugural Address.

8. Write brief essays on the lasting services to the development of democracy as a result of special investigation and class report assignments on the following:

(a) Statesmen: Washington, Samuel Adams, Franklin, Hamilton, Jefferson, Madison, Marshall, Clay, Webster, Lincoln, Roosevelt, Wilson.

(b) Poets: Lowell, Whitman, Whittier, Longfellow, Bryant.

9. (a) "If a man could live separate from all of his kind, his freedom would be perfect." Is this true?

(b) What is "individual initiative"? Does it benefit the individual? Society?

10. In what respect is ignorance a restraint? Name and justify certain restraints that have been placed on men's activities. Do these restraints promote or restrain our liberties?

11. Emerson said that "America is a synonym for opportunity." In what respect is this true today?

12. Does the doctrine of equality tend to strengthen or weaken our respect for leaders? Is the welfare of society promoted equally by all, or do leaders set the pace? What qualities should leaders of a democratic people possess?

13. What do we mean by the "co-operative functions" of society? Are these functions increasing or decreasing? Name some "co-operative functions" that are political, social, economic.

## CHAPTER IV

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### THE PROBLEM OF PRIVATE PROPERTY

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(FORTHCOMING)

#### THE NATURE OF PRIVATE PROPERTY

When man first appeared on earth, he found boundless varieties of minerals and food materials which we call natural resources. To meet his needs he produced other things, and as he soon found that he could grow more grain and produce more clothing and implements than he needed for his own use, he sought to exchange the surplus of his own production for goods produced by others, thus procuring a variety of things which added to his comfort

and happiness. He soon learned to use a portion of his surplus store in the production of other goods. To this portion we give the name of capital.

Very early the question of ownership arose, and for a long time man was uncertain whether the wealth produced belonged to himself alone or collectively to the group in society of which he was a member. Finally, man came to believe that what he himself produced was peculiarly his own, and thus private property became a fixed institution.

When we speak of the right of private ownership, we really mean the privilege of private ownership which is granted to individuals by society. Property is a social institution. Society permits certain things to be individually owned. There have been three classes of such property: (1) human beings; (2) animals and commodities; (3) land. The conquest of the weaker by the stronger formerly was thought to give the right to the victors to hold the vanquished in permanent servitude, to profit by their labor, and to buy and sell them at will. America was the last of the great nations to put an end to human slavery. There undoubtedly were good masters and contented slaves, and the South before our Civil War sincerely believed that the institution was beneficial to society. However, the evil of slavery is now universally conceded.

Private ownership of animals and commodities is generally agreed upon as right, but the right of

individuals to own land has often been a subject of dispute. Among primitive peoples land was generally held in common and let out in small strips for the use of individuals and families, but as civilization progressed, private ownership superseded public ownership. The best test of the justice of any social institution or program is whether it is conducive to the welfare of the people. The early American settlers obtained their land on very easy terms which required little more than residence and cultivation. The result was that the settlements increased in population and extended far beyond their first borders. Because of private ownership the new communities became permanent and every man of any capacity and ambition became a landholder.

With this increase in private ownership the duties of the state changed. It was concerned more and more with questions arising from the property relation and less and less with rivalry of persons or with the protection of the community from attacks by outside enemies. Unless property rights are observed, additional property merely increases the responsibility of its owners who must devote greater efforts to its protection. Yet strangely enough, as private property increased, the state has been compelled to withdraw more and more property from private to public use in order to insure to



owners their just rights and to adjust the money disputes arising over property.

The state recognizes no unlimited right to private property. It regulates its acquisition by insisting on a clear title and by prohibiting violence or dishonesty. The state also decides who may hold property. It may discriminate against certain nationalities as does the California Land Law. The state regulates the use of property in a number of ways: for example, laws specify the height or kind of building which can be erected and prohibit anti-social activities on property. Even private ownership of land may be limited as to exclusive use by the reservation to the public of a right of way through the land.

Finally, the state regulates the transfer of property from one owner to another. The inheritance of great wealth frequently puts an unworthy person in a position of power for which he is wholly unfitted. A wealthy man can control the activity of thousands of human beings. Should society permit such power to be given to one who has not demonstrated his worthiness?

#### PRIVATE PROPERTY IN AMERICA

According to Ex-President Hadley of Yale, private property in the United States is in a stronger position constitutionally than in any European country, partly because the govern-

mental means for its control or limitation are weaker here than elsewhere, but chiefly because the rights of private property are more formally established in the Constitution and laws of the country. Conditions in America cultivated a respect for individual property right and a distrust of governmental control. The Constitution forbids the taking of property without due process of law and no state may pass a law impairing the obligation of contracts. Our courts have taken to themselves a power which the courts of no other great country possess: that of deciding whether or not legislation is constitutional. In 1819, in the famous Dartmouth College case, Webster argued that a charter once given could not be changed by the state against the consent of those to whom the charter had been granted, and the United States Supreme Court agreed with him. This decision enormously strengthened the position of private property.

The 14th Amendment forbade the treating of different persons in unequal ways. Its framers wished to secure for the negroes equal social and political rights with the whites, but in 1882 the Supreme Court applied the 14th Amendment to an entirely different subject. The State of California had passed a taxation law which bore unfairly on the Southern Pacific Railroad Company. This company brought suit to set aside the law on the

ground that it was a violation of the 14th Amendment: that the corporation was a person and therefore entitled to equal treatment. The decision of the Supreme Court in favor of the railroad limited the possibility of control of private property. According to Dr. Hadley, the fundamental division of powers in the United States is between voters, on the one hand, and property owners, on the other. "The forces of democracy are set over against the forces of property."

When there was plenty of free land to be obtained, Americans believed that success came to all who would work and save, but now that the free land has practically all been taken up, in the future most Americans will be wage-earners, not land-owners. What will be the effect of this change on the relations between government and private property?

#### THE BENEFITS OF PRIVATE PROPERTY

Our desire to acquire private property and the delight of ownership act as a stimulus to industry. Its owner has a greater amount of independence; he develops personality. The man who owns a house and who is sure of making a living has a great aid to a moral and religious life. The effort and self-denial necessary to gain property acts as a character-builder; it furnishes incentives for invention and for the improvement of industrial processes; it affords the security and permanence of

management necessary for the promotion of great works for long periods of time. Private property brings men together, thus acting as a cement in society. Finally, private ownership has grown up during thousands of years of human history through natural psychological processes.

The critics of private property who would do away with the institution entirely and substitute communism or government ownership point out what they consider are the evil results of private ownership. A man who has not accumulated property is little better than a slave. He cannot move to another place where working conditions are better, and, in case of poor health or serious accident, he must become an object for charity. This may result in a loss of self-respect and moral degeneration. They point out that under our system of taxation the government is supported chiefly by the owners of property—a condition which makes for undemocratic government and privilege. How may we check the evils incidental to the misuse of private property without diminishing the much greater benefits which undoubtedly accrue from it?

#### IMPROVEMENT OF THE INSTITUTION OF PRIVATE PROPERTY

Any program for reform should be gradual and evolutionary. We should endeavor to make private

property accomplish its beneficial ends by aiding in movements already begun. These movements are toward, first, an increase in the mass of free goods; second, a restriction of the extent of private property and an increasing extension of public property; third, the development of the social side of private property; fourth, the extension of private property along certain lines and the development of rights akin to private property; and fifth, changes in the modes of acquisition of private property.

We have already noted that as civilization progresses, free goods tend to increase. These free goods are often intellectual goods—ideas whose ownership we acquire as they cease to be the specific property of their authors: for example, when patents and copyrights expire, the property right in such ideas becomes free to everyone. It is evident that society is gaining a constantly increasing amount of such free goods. Education is no longer restricted to certain classes; and there are many other forms of benefits which are at least partly free, such as hospitals, libraries, public parks, and community concerts.

As private property becomes restricted, public control takes its place. In the case of playgrounds, the purposes of property are better served by a public control and use. In fact, private rights can thus be better preserved than if the playground



were under private control. Places of historical interest, natural wonders, and forests very naturally tend to come under public control. There is a tendency toward an increase of public control, if not actual government ownership, over such utilities as transportation, lighting plants, and water supply. Government control or government ownership will not solve all the problems which arise in connection with property, but in many instances may destroy the characteristic advantages secured through private ownership. For example, greater technical skill is possessed by those who have built up certain industries under private ownership, and the transfer from private to public control will displace these experts with disastrous consequences to the business. The tendency seems to be for our government to say to such experts: "You must manage this property not as you see fit, but as we see fit. Yet, you must manage it at your own risk." As one well-known railway man says: "The public has small conception how the hundreds of Federal and state laws regulating railways passed in recent years and the innumerable orders that are constantly being issued by the Interstate Commerce Commission and the 42 state commissions tie the hands of railway officers. Doubtless, much of the regulation is needed; perhaps all of it is well intended; but the public has unfortunately tried to adopt a policy of regulation

that will prevent railway officers from doing anything that they ought not to do, and has overlooked the fact that to hedge men about with restrictions of this sort may, at the same time, so narrow their freedom of action as to make it impossible for them to do many things that they ought to do."

Another difficulty associated with governmental control of privately owned businesses performing public service is the attempt to escape from such a control. Their officers naturally view matters from their own standpoint rather than from that of the public interest. This very human mental attitude has resulted in the political activities of corporations and has furnished the occasion for graft. One of the most difficult problems pressing for immediate solution is that of the regulation of public service corporations.

The third movement to be encouraged is the development of the social benefits of private property. Such benefits are best secured when the government applies a continuous pressure on industry through social legislation and administration. For example, there should be laws providing for arbitration of labor disputes, protecting women and children, and maintaining a rigorous system of factory inspection.

The fourth movement is toward the extension of private property along new lines, and the development of rights akin to property. Where the

interests of an individual are opposed to those of corporations, the individual is at a disadvantage. As a result, the property rights of an individual are frequently invaded by powerful corporations. Equality before the law is an ideal believed in by all, but indifferently well-maintained. There are certain forms of private property which should be more clearly understood and more surely safeguarded. Some of these are personal rights, such as the right to be born under favorable conditions. This right is secured only partially by public compulsory education, and by laws which regulate working conditions. We protect a man's right to his home—should we protect his right to a position? We are beginning to protect the workingman through insurance, but in many foreign countries this movement has proceeded very much further than here. This is not socialistic, because it tends to strengthen the existing order of society. The right to reputation belongs in this class, but it is hard to safeguard this right without restricting free speech. Criticism of conduct, even to the extent of damaging the reputation of the person so criticised, must be permitted if the conduct in question injures the community.

Finally, we must consider the changes in the ways of acquiring private property, and the qualifications of the right of private property in the United States. Public opinion is less favorable to

gains arising from chance or speculation. Extreme care should be exercised to distinguish between the legitimate chances of business and what is clearly gambling, attempting to secure something for nothing. There is a definite policy of reducing unearned incomes and, by close governmental supervision of monopolies, of preventing excessive gains. Efforts are being made to prevent rent profiteering by increased taxation on incomes, inheritances, corporation profits, and private property.

One of the most important restrictions on the right of private property is that of eminent domain. By this is understood the right of the community to take private property for public use. This is done by a regular court procedure. Commissioners are appointed to estimate the value of the property, and then this amount must be accepted by the owner.

Private property is one of the fundamental institutions of American democracy. It is an unmistakable index of social progress. It originated because of social reasons; it has grown under continual subjection to the social sanction. It is the basis on which our whole social order has been built up. It cannot be destroyed without destroying also the ideals of liberty and democracy in which Americans believe.

## QUESTIONS

1. What is the Russian "mir"?
2. Describe the system of land-holding in the Middle Ages.
3. Explain the influence of free land in the development of the United States.
4. Where in the Constitution are the provisions regarding private property referred to in this chapter?
5. What other court decisions can you find which bear on the question of private property?
6. Which of the advantages stated for private property seem to you strongest? Which least strong? Why?
7. Distinguish between property and possession.
8. What is the advantage of continuity in ownership?
9. "The right of property for use should be maintained, but the right of property for power should be abolished." Discuss.
10. Could the advantages arising from private property be obtained under a communistic system?
11. "Property is not a single absolute right, but a bundle of rights." Explain.
12. Why is property in such a strong position in this country?
13. Is private property in the ocean possible? Discuss your answer.
14. Show that private property and democracy are inseparable.



## CHAPTER V

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### PROBLEM OF CAPITAL AND LABOR

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(FORTHCOMING)

#### FUNDAMENTAL ISSUES

There is no problem before the American people today of greater interest than that of a fair adjustment of the relations between capital and labor. There is no problem concerning which there is a

greater disagreement because of a failure to understand the fundamental issue involved. This issue has narrowed itself down to the question of control or ownership in industry. Before the Industrial Revolution, as long as land was the principal source of production, the struggle was constantly for its control or ownership. Since the Industrial Revolution, the principal source of production is machine industry which is owned very largely and controlled almost exclusively by the capitalist class. The struggle for control, then, has been transferred from the land to the machine. When we recognize the nature of this issue and realize that power machinery can produce wealth with almost as magical a speed as Aladdin's lamp, and attempt to comprehend the number of factories and factory employees in the United States, we begin to see why this problem is so hard to solve.

Capital and labor have a mutual interest in what they jointly produce, and for the success of their mutual interest their relations should be friendly. Unfortunately, such harmonious relations have been the exception, for they have constantly quarreled over the division of their product, over hours, working conditions, and methods of organization. Let us examine the point of view of the working man. His wants range from a desire to remedy unfair conditions in individual cases to actual revolution. The first type expects an in-

crease of wages as a reward for merit and is contented to bargain personally with his employer. A second type believes that better conditions for the workmen can be secured through collective bargaining. This type forms trade unions and seeks to gain a fair day's wage for a fair day's work. A third type of workman who necessarily belongs to a trade union wishes to secure a greater share in the control and profits of industry. A fourth type believes that such a control is possible only if the workmen own the industry themselves, yet is unwilling to resort to revolutionary tactics to accomplish this end. And finally, we have the fifth type with no scruples at all about revolution and violence in the attainment of a workingman's ownership of industry.

We may also distinguish different types of employers: the conservatives and the progressives. The conservative calls the factory he owns or manages, "my business." He argues that since he stands to lose money if the business fails, he has a right to dictate how it shall be run. He is opposed to unions and unionism, and believes in the "open shop," open to both union labor and non-union labor. The other type of capitalist is willing to bargain collectively with the unions, and realizes that greater efficiency can be secured through the co-operation and goodwill of employees. Both types are naturally opposed to the ownership of

industry by labor or by the state, and are unwilling to grant even a majority control over industry to the workingmen.

These types of labor and capital are not hard-fixed, and individuals may pass from one type to another under the stress of unusual circumstances. For example, many progressive capitalists become very conservative at the menace of Bolshevism.

### THE WAGE SYSTEM

Under the wage system the employer, who is best able to do so, takes the risk on the selling price of his product at some time in the future, while his employee immediately receives the amount of the market value of his labor. Wages are really a kind of insurance to the worker, in that he gets something definite instead of being compelled to run a risk greater than his capacity. In other words, the employer lends to the workman the money of a future selling transaction.

There are two methods of wage payment: time and piece payment. For a long period, time work was the only kind and is quite efficient for small enterprises where the employer works alongside of his employees, and is thus able to watch their work and stimulate them to do better work; but as the industry becomes larger, such an oversight will be impractical. Under piece work the wage depends on a physical measurement of the amount of the

product. Men are paid for the number of yards of cloth woven by them. For example, under this system, inspection is very necessary in order that quality may not be sacrificed for quantity of production. Piece work is profitable both to the employer and employee, yet is apt to result in too great a strain upon the latter and is therefore not generally favored by organized labor.

Various changes in the piece work system have been suggested recently which involve the establishment of a minimum task and of a premium for all work in excess of the minimum. Such modifications are known as premium plans, gain-sharing or progressive-wage systems. The Halsey Premium Plan sets a standard time for a specific operation. If the laborer falls short of, or barely attains, to the standard, he receives a set wage, but if he is more rapid, he is paid a fixed premium per hour for all time thus saved. By Rowan's Plan the premium is not fixed except as a percentage of the standard hourly rate, equivalent to the percentage of saving in time necessary for the operation. A variety of other systems have been proposed by several men interested in scientific management, namely Taylor, Gantt, and Emerson. All agree that improvement will come from strong efforts and should be rewarded.

Profit-sharing means dividing the profits of the enterprise between its owner and employees in



excess of the regular wages received by the latter. This is not merely a gift, but is usually done according to a previous promise. The employer will greatly profit from this arrangement which stimulates the workers' industry, and at the same time reduces the cost of waste and of supervision through creating a personal interest in his work in the mind of the workingman. Yet, strangely enough, objections to this plan are raised both by workman and employer. The former objects to the very necessary condition of length of service in apportioning profits; and because it has been used for the purpose of lessening the independence of the worker. The objection of the employer arises from his dislike of having his profits known. If they are great, his success provokes competition; if they are small, the publicity of this fact may injure his credit and destroy his business. He also has found that profit-sharing has failed to promote loyalty and efficiency. Profit-sharing has been tried out for three-quarters of a century; it has started well; but it has usually failed disastrously.<sup>1</sup>

Thus it will be seen that it is better to permit wages to be measured by the efficiency of the worker and the most compelling motive to efficiency is at

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<sup>1</sup>. NOTE—The Dennison Manufacturing Company, at Framingham, Mass. and the N. O. Nelson Company at LaClade, Ill., have found profit-sharing a success. United States Bureau of Labor Statistics Bulletin—"Profit-Sharing."

work when a reward may be obtained directly and at once because of his effort. Profits arise from many sources, but chiefly from the skill in planning possessed by the manager. Many salaried managers receive a share of the profits either in direct payment or in shares in the ownership of the business for which they work. When workmen criticize the large income of the manager, they fail to see the essential nature of his service.

The co-operative principle has been widely tried out in the United States, and while it has not proved to be wholly a success in producing, it does fill a long-felt want in the buying of commodities. In Newark, the members of the Teachers' Association through their organization purchase thousands of dollars worth of articles of food at wholesale prices, delivered to their respective schools, thus effecting a considerable economy in living.

### THE LABOR MOVEMENT

The labor movement, so striking a feature of the modern world, is of comparatively recent origin as most of its history, except in England, lies in the period since 1860. The organization of wage workers has very largely resulted from a decline in the economic unity of employers and employees. This came about because the use of power machinery required the creation of large enterprises and the use of great amounts of capital. The nature

of modern industry forbids the personal acquaintance of employer and workman. Under the pressure of competition, the employer tries to pay the lowest wage possible. In enterprises under the direction of paid managers responsible to stockholders, the success of the enterprise is measured by the dividends it earns. Some managers have been compelled to adopt a less liberal policy toward their employees than their personal wishes would direct, because of the demand of absentee shareholders in the business.

Another effect of modern industry has been that workers have been compelled to organize in order to secure unity of opinion. In a great modern business the laborer may know nothing of the interests or even the name of the man working at his side. Furthermore, differences in race and in language often prevent common feeling. These considerations explain the growth of labor organizations. Their primary object has been the direct improvement of working conditions. They maintain or increase scales of wages and attempt to improve conditions of work in general; but they have also worked to secure other benefits of great importance. They act as mutual aid associations and provide insurance against accident, sickness, or lack of employment. By means of their meetings and publications, they serve as an educational force, while the local labor organizations frequently

serve as centers of the social life not only of their members, but of the members' families as well.

There are several types of unionism in this country. First, we have what we may call "business unionism," which is trade conscious, but not class conscious. It is essentially a bargaining and a conservative institution: an example is the Railway Brotherhood. Second is the "friendly or uplift union," which may be either trade or class conscious, is conservative, and favors collective bargaining and profit sharing. An example of this form of unionism was the society known as the Knights of Labor, which at one time had a large and influential membership. The third type may be called "predatory unionism." It is secret, either radical or conservative, class or trade conscious, and has two wings: "hold up" unionism, the corrupt type recently exposed in our great cities; and "guerrilla unionism" which never combines with employers, but engages in a secret and violent warfare with capital. There is also, unfortunately, a fourth and more objectionable type of unionism which calls itself "revolutionary unionism." It may be either socialistic as was the Western Federation of Miners, or anarchistic like the Industrial Workers of the World. It is class, not trade, conscious and antagonistic to the wage and other systems of modern society. This unionism does not, as a rule, care for the rights of the employers,

and is disposed to believe in the policy of sabotage, which varies from actual destruction of property to mere slacking on the job.

The revolutionary unionist believes that industrial peace is impossible under modern economic institutions; therefore, he would do away with them, especially the institution of private property. He would base society upon an industrial union, the subdivisions of which are to be federations of unions and federations of federations. This is, essentially, the Soviet idea.

The program of the American Federation of Labor includes the abolition of all forms of involuntary servitude except as a punishment for crime and of the use of injunctions in labor disputes. This organization believes in free schools, free textbooks, and compulsory education; a work-day of not more than eight hours, and the liability of employers for industrial accidents; the municipalization or nationalization of public utilities, such as railroads, telegraphs, telephones, and trolleys; safeguarding the rights of childhood by strict child-labor laws and by establishing playgrounds for them in all cities. It also favors the extension of direct democracy through the introduction of the initiative and referendum, and other devices.

#### COLLECTIVE BARGAINING AND STRIKES

As we have seen, the foremost policy of trade unions is the introduction of collective bargaining



between their delegated representatives and the employers or their representatives. In order to secure effective collective bargaining, it is quite essential that a large part of the workers of the trade in the industries concerned shall be members of the organization. After a local union has been organized, experienced union men devote their entire time and every effort to bringing all workers into the union. The most effective method is the denunciation of the worker who declines to enter the union. He is called a traitor to his fellows. Pressure is even brought upon the employer to force him to employ only union men. This frequently leads to strikes and causes great loss, not only to the workers and employers, but to the general public. A strike is a concerted stoppage of work by a number of employees to compel concessions from the employer. A lockout is the closing of a factory by the employer because of a dispute with his employees. The effectiveness of a strike is measured by the degree of gain to the workers. It will be seen that this measure of success is wholly one-sided, and that no matter how successful the strike may be from this standpoint, the community as a whole loses heavily.

During the progress of the strike, the workmen have adopted various methods to prevent employers from securing others to take their places. These methods may take the form of picketing, which

consists of stopping persons suspected of being willing to take their places, and endeavoring either by argument or intimidation to induce them to go away. Another weapon employed in the strike by workmen is the boycott in which they agree not to have business relations with the person or firm with whom they are in disagreement. This is the primary boycott, and is believed to be entirely legal. The secondary boycott, however, in which the strikers compel outsiders to boycott the employer, has been declared illegal.

A much debated question in the problem of capital and labor today is that of the "open" versus the "closed" shop. By the "open" shop is usually meant one in which there are no requirements of union membership, while the "closed" shop is usually understood to be one in which all employees must be union men, and in which wages must be paid on the scale agreed to by the unions. Organized labor believes that the "closed" shop is necessary for the welfare of labor. It can be shown that this is not always true. If a workman cannot fulfill union standards, he may be forced to accept a lower wage or abandon his trade. While the public is sympathetic to many union ideas, it is unwilling to allow to organized labor a monopoly over industry, for if the unions are able to obtain a wage scale higher than the market justifies, the burden falls not on the employers, but on the

public itself. There is little difference of opinion, however, in respect to the social and educational advantages of unionism.

### HOURS OF LABOR

Most workers believe that a shorter working day will result in a greater wage per hour. This would be true if a shorter day meant greater efficiency per hour, but if the hourly output does not increase proportionally with the wage increase, wages would be affected unfavorably. For example, if a group of workmen in changing from a ten to an eight-hour day produced only 80% as much as before, the cost of production would be so much increased that the industry would run at a loss or must raise its prices. In either case, wages are affected. The losing industry would be compelled to close its doors and throw its workmen out of a job. The raising of prices would force the demand for a new wage scale, thus further unsettling the situation. On the other hand, many claim that the shortening of the hours of labor so increases the efficiency of the workmen that not only is there no reduction in the output from the figures of the longer day but even a greater output. While a faster working pace may go with a shorter day, the speeding-up process may have a bad effect on the worker. Thus it is seen

that the question of hours of labor is not as simple as it appears at first glance.

Legislation limiting hours of labor has generally been passed on two principles: first, protection of the public where the welfare of others depends upon the health and efficiency of the worker; second, the protection of the welfare and health of the worker so as to prevent abnormal depreciation of the human factor in industry. The principles regulating conditions of employment of women are as follows: first, women cannot protect themselves in wage bargaining as well as men; second, women are physically weaker and are more easily affected by dangers to health than men; third, women, as future mothers, require protection for the sake of society.

Minimum wage laws establish a standard wage for groups of poorly-paid earners. It should be pointed out that a minimum wage law cannot make a poor workman a better workman, nor guarantee his employment, but tends to prevent him from earning what he can and thus may make him partly dependent on public charity.

#### PEACE IN INDUSTRY

The public is vitally interested in every plan which promises better relations between wage earners and their employers. These are of two varieties: first, mediation and arbitration of labor

disputes; second, representation in industry, or industrial democracy. Mediation is the attempt of some outside party to induce the contestants in a labor dispute to discuss their differences with a view to arriving at a settlement. Mediation may be undertaken voluntarily by some public official, or there may be a commission established by law whose duty is to take charge of such negotiations. Arbitration differs from mediation in that the decision is not arrived at by discussion between the parties at issue, but is handed down by an outside person or commission to whom the question is referred. Such arbitration may be voluntary at the request of the parties to the dispute, or it may be compulsory. An example of the latter is furnished by the Kansas Industrial Relations Court law for which Governor Allen is largely responsible. He says: "The real test was to determine whether the traditions of democratic government could be maintained; whether the government still had power to protect the public." Because of a coal strike, Kansas faced a winter of great suffering. Then the legislature established by law a court of industrial relations. This court, on its own initiative or on complaint, investigates the merits of every dispute in the essential industries of the state, and issues orders prescribing rules and regulations, hours of labor, working conditions, and a just minimum wage. Pending such a deci-



sion, it is unlawful for either employer or employee to cause an industry to stop. Organized labor was at first bitterly hostile to this law, considering it a death-blow to what they claimed was their right to strike. It is perhaps too soon to agree wholly with Governor Allen that this law is a cure-all, particularly as movements to enact similar legislation in other states have been defeated.

The movement for representation in industry has the support of many of the most progressive men of the present time. In England in 1918, Mr. Whitley, the chairman of a commission of inquiry into the labor situation, proposed a plan which provided for shop works' committees for each industry in which the organization of capital and labor had been effected. Such committees were to have charge of negotiation and wage adjustment, and were to consist of representatives of the management and of the employees.

Another plan originating in England is called the Shop Steward Plan. The stewards or agents of the various unions in a plant form a shop committee which can establish arrangements for the industry. In this plan the employers have no authority over the stewards.

The Colorado Industrial Plan, proposed by J. D. Rockefeller, Jr., establishes joint committees to act with respect to matters of employment, working and living conditions, and adjustment of

differences, consisting of six members: three elected by the workmen and three appointed by the management, but the management reserves the right to hire and discharge and control the property.

The Leitch Plan was proposed by John Leitch, who believes that if great industrial organizations were governed on principles similar to the government of the United States, it would put an end to labor troubles. His plan includes a cabinet made up of the executive officers of the company; a senate made up of the department heads and foremen; and a house of representatives elected by secret ballot by the whole body of workers from among their own number. Every measure for the government of the business must pass both houses and be approved by the cabinet. In the Filene store in Boston the employees nominate four of the eleven directors and choose an arbitration board with final authority in matters of discipline, dismissal, and wages. The guild socialists who are chiefly in England would add a labor congress to the present political Parliament, and a supreme court on labor to arbitrate between the two Parliaments. The guild socialist differs from the ordinary socialist in that he does not believe in the ownership and operation of industry by the state only, but ownership by the state and operation by management and workers. A typically guild-socialist plan which has been approved by our railway brother-

hoods was proposed by Glenn Plumb. It provides for a permanent corporation to operate railroads whose membership shall be the workers and managers. Present securities are to be refunded by government bonds. The control would be vested in a board of fifteen directors, five elected by the classified employees, five elected by the railroad officials, and five appointed by the President of the United States. Surplus profits over and above operating charges, and a five per cent rental of the value of the roads would be divided equally between government and employees. Rates would be determined by the inter-state commerce commission, and wages by the board of directors. Increased profits would result in increasing wages, but lowering rates to the public.

No one plan will solve the problems of capital and labor, but reform must be made along many lines: first, the labor market should be organized through a network of local, state, and national employment agencies. Seasonal industries should be dovetailed so as to provide continuous employment, and arrangements should be made for transferring workers where needed. Second, industrial training must be more scientifically developed. Greater skill means greater security and peace in industry. The continuation school should encourage youths and adults to secure more training. Third, a wise immigration policy which contains a

scientific arrangement for the better distribution of immigrants seems highly essential. Fourth, the public must be willing to pay its share of the cost of securing good industrial conditions, but at the same time must be assured that such a program is not the occasion for profiteering. Fifth, the working partners in industry must understand each other better, and co-operate in a spirit of mutual forbearance. Such co-operation will give every individual in society a larger interest in life, and make his wage depend more directly upon his worth, as well as foster the instinct for liberty and self-government. As President Wilson said, the fundamental aim should be "to cheer and inspire our people with the sure prospects of social justice, and to reward with the vision of open gates of opportunity for all."

### QUESTIONS

1. Why is the welfare of the worker of interest to society as a whole?
2. If asked to formulate the labor problem, how would you word it?
3. The socialists claim that the Industrial Revolution has made the workman absolutely dependent on the capitalist class. State the reverse of this claim, and prove that neither is absolutely true.
4. Explain each of the following: the law of

negligence, the fellow-servant doctrine, the doctrine of assumed risks.

5. Show that regulation of output by the employer benefits the workman.

6. Discuss the relations between low wages on the one hand and on the other (a) standards of living; (b) labor efficiency; (c) quantity of output.

7. What arguments in favor of woman's labor offset the disadvantages mentioned in the chapter?

8. Prepare a brief and debate either for or against the closed shop.

9. Why do some employers regard democracy in industry as Bolshevistic?

10. Show the difference between Sovietism and representation in industry.

11. Would a labor party in the United States be un-American?





*By courtesy of the Cunard Line*

CUNARD LINER "AQUITANIA"



*By courtesy of the U. S. National Museum*

MODEL OF THE "MAYFLOWER"



*By courtesy of the New York Central Lines.*

THE DEWITT CLINTON WOOD-BURNING LOCOMOTIVE AND COACHES, THE NEW YORK CENTRAL'S FIRST TRAIN, STEAMING BESIDE THE TWENTIETH CENTURY LIMITED AT HARMON, N. Y., JULY 14, 1921. THE CLINTON WAS THE FIRST TRAIN OPERATED IN NEW YORK STATE, RUNNING FROM ALBANY TO SCHENECTADY IN AUGUST, 1831. THIS PICTURE SHOWS THE FIRST AND THE LATEST IN STEAM TRANSPORTATION.

## CHAPTER VI

### COMMUNICATION AND TRANSPORTATION

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#### WATER TRANSPORTATION

It is not surprising that the early stages of transportation were carried on on the water. Rivers, lakes, and inland seas furnished a means of carriage which promoted trade from the earliest dawn of history. The carrier on water need furnish only the vehicle, while nature furnishes the roadway

and, to a large degree, even the motive power—wind. On the land the cost of the vehicle is a very small part of the total cost of transportation, the larger part of the cost is the way itself. On water the way is free, while the place for the vehicle to unload is usually found with little expense to the carrier. Hence, the sea, sea trade, and sea power have always been of great concern to man. The nation without navigable rivers or stretches of sea-coast is like a house set far back from the busy street. Many pages of history have been written of the struggles of nations for the possession of water routes. The first boats were no more than logs of wood used to supplement the imperfect natural swimming ability of man. Then came the hollowing out of logs, and with the invention of tools the building of genuine boats. In early Egypt was developed a primitive type of basket-work boat made water-tight with pitch. Such was the cradle of bulrushes in which the infant Moses lay. Other primitive types of boats were the inflated skins of animals, such as are still used in India, or hides stretched over a wooden framework still used on the west coast of Ireland.

The ancient civilizations of Mesopotamia and the Eastern Mediterranean had a fully developed sea life at least 6,000 years ago. The first sailors were perhaps daring pirates. The Mediterranean is a sea where vessels with sails may lie becalmed for

days together, while a vessel with oars would easily skim over the smooth water. With coasts and islands everywhere to afford shelter in time of storm, oars became the characteristic instruments of navigation. The art of rowing was probably first developed in Egypt, yet the Semitic Phoenicians were a close second in pushing their keels out into the Mediterranean. Recent discoveries have revealed a civilized race of unknown origin, whose center was the Island of Crete, who were supreme on the Mediterranean 5,000 years ago. The Empire of the sea kings of Crete lasted thousands of years, but had become a legend by the time the Phoenicians from the two great cities of Sidon and Tyre made their way along the coast of the Mediterranean Sea till they discovered Spain, then the richest known country in minerals. Their colony of Carthage became the greatest maritime power in the world. About 520 B. C. a Carthaginian by the name of Hanno with sixty ships skirted the west coast of Africa for some distance beyond the Gambia River. Another explorer, Himilco, was sent to the northern coasts of Europe and is said to have sailed in the Atlantic for four months. Regular trade was opened up with the British Isles.

Meanwhile the Greeks developed shipping and carried their trade and founded colonies over the entire Mediterranean region. They grew up in the midst of the sea, and much of their best work was



inspired by it. The Athenian Trireme is thus described: A hull of fir, strengthened by a solid oak keel, 140 feet long and 14 feet wide; her upper deck about 11 feet above sea level; a cabin in the bow, another in the stern; the intervening space filled with a series of seats and foot rests rising in sets of three to be occupied by the rowers, divided by a long central gangway running down the center of the ship; projecting from the prow were heavy metal spurs. The trireme was a splendid fighting instrument, but cargo ships were of a rounder construction. Each carried at least one mast, with a crow's nest in the top for the use of the pilot. The profits of the early mariners were enormous. For example, when Solomon and Hiram sent a trading fleet to the Far East, Solomon's share of the profits amounted to over \$500,000. The Romans at first had no navy, and the patricians regarded mariners as of the lowest social status; but Rome finally came to grips with Carthage and in the long series of wars with that maritime nation, they, too, adopted the sea highways, although they always preferred land routes.

Two requirements for developing wide ranging sea trade were: first, a ship which could weather all conditions; and, second, the knowledge which would enable mariners to dispense with land marks, and sail boldly out into the open sea. Where trade winds blow with regularity, very little science of

navigation is needed, but the mariners cannot always rely on trade winds. World-wide voyages were impracticable before the instruments of navigation were invented to make the navigator sure of his direction and latitude. The mariner's compass, which was discovered in Southern Italy about 1300, and the astrolabe were the first instruments of navigation; yet these were half feared as black magic and were wholly undeveloped as scientific instruments. By the end of the Middle Ages, Europeans were poorly equipped for long sea voyages. They had still to learn the art of tacking or sailing across or against the wind. By the fourteenth century the magnetic compass, which earlier had been a magnetic needle floating on a straw on water, took the form of a needle suspended by a pivot fixed upon a card, which indicated the cardinal points. This revolutionized not merely navigation but map-making as well, for it enabled map drawers to indicate the direction of coast lines, rivers, roads and the position of countries, cities, and natural features with respect to each other. The astrolabe was used to calculate latitudes by observation of the height of the sun above the horizon. Other instruments that were found useful on shipboard at this time were various time-measurers, such as the hour glass, minute glass, and sun dial. The discovery of the Transatlantic passage and the lands of the Western Hemisphere

at the close of the fifteenth century revealed new worlds to European experience, and caused the medieval peoples to face westward instead of eastward. Water transportation took on a new and greatly enhanced importance.

The credit for first applying steam to transportation belongs to America. The steam engine had hardly been applied as a motive power in manufacturing before Oliver Evans, an American inventor, attempted to drive wagons and boats by steam; and John Fitch ran a steamboat on the Delaware in 1788 at the surprising speed of eight miles an hour. The first to make the steamboat a commercial success was Robert Fulton, who in 1807 sailed the *Clermont* from New York to Albany, a distance of one hundred and fifty miles, in thirty hours. The *Clermont* was one hundred and thirty feet in length and was driven by paddle wheels at the sides. The spread of this method of transportation was very rapid, and within a few years the era of steam transportation on water had fairly begun. This new method was quickly adopted in England, which had far outdistanced this country in its development of industry.

The ocean-going ships of the eighteenth century were of the clumsy, slow build used for the East India trade. It was not until the first half of the nineteenth century that the clipper type of sailing vessel was developed. Although the steamboat had

been developed in the opening years of the nineteenth century, it was used chiefly on the inland waterways and for coastwise traffic until the construction of iron-hulled steamers after 1838. By 1850 only about twenty-five per cent of ocean commerce was carried in iron steamships. The effect of the steamboat on river traffic was immediate and permanent. In the West the passenger fare from Pittsburgh to New Orleans was lowered from \$160 to \$30, and freight rates from \$140 to \$20 a ton. By the time of the opening of the Civil War, there were more than a thousand steamboats on the Mississippi and its branches.

In developing the steamboat, a great deal of attention was given to the passenger service, though the carrying of freight was more profitable and added more to the industrial growth of the country. The first steamboats on the Hudson were employed principally in carrying passengers to and from the city of New York. Likewise on the Delaware and other eastern rivers the first consideration was given to this service. But, because of greater distances to be traveled, more attention was given on the Mississippi River than in the East to the comfort of passengers. Western steamboats came to be known as the "floating palaces" of America. Travel on the Mississippi and Ohio combined pleasure with business. Spring and fall saw thousands of planters, merchants,

and professional men making their regular trips up and down these rivers. The spacious dining-rooms with their rich equipments served as dance halls during the evening, and often as sleeping quarters at night. Drinking and gambling were common. The card shark with his "parson's coat and countenance" seemed to be as indispensable to a Mississippi River steamboat as was the bel-lowing calliope. Gradually there grew up on the western rivers heated rivalry among owners and crews. Each line of passenger boats advertised the most luxurious quarters, the best food, and the fastest time. Owners stopped at no expense for equipment; while crews, at the risk of the lives of the passengers, as well as of their own, often fed the boiler fires with pine knots and pitch in order to outdistance their rivals. Nothing caused more excitement along the river than a race between well-matched steamboats of competing lines.

In 1816 the first lake steamer was built on the waters of Lake Ontario. Two years later, the Walk-in-the-Water was launched on Lake Erie. The completion of the Erie Canal in 1825 so stimulated emigration westward as to cause more boats to be built on the lakes, and in 1834 the first lake steamer reached Chicago, then a small hamlet.

#### MERCHANT MARINE

Before the invention of steel-built ships and steam turbines, New England was the leading ship-



ping center of the world, but after the Civil War, declined; first, because of the destruction of ships in the War; second, because of the inability of the United States to compete with England owing to the necessity of paying our seamen higher wages; and, third, because of the failure of the Government to subsidize shipping. England took the lead in the construction of iron steamers, while our ship-builders, confident in their superiority, clung to the wooden ship. The vessel of the future was to be made of steel, so by not changing the construction material our ship-builders lost ground and Great Britain won first place on the seas. Her Government also subsidized her steamship lines. During the Civil War many of our merchant ships were either sold to foreigners or to our own Government for conversion into transports or war ships; others were sunk by Confederate privateers. The opening of the Suez Canal destroyed the former prestige in the China trade enjoyed by our clippers by furnishing an opportunity to the steamship to recoal en route.

A further reason for the decline of America's merchant marine was the transfer of interest from foreign commerce to internal development. The most urgent demand for American energy and capital seemed to be in railroad transportation to link up our vast inland areas. Most of the New England ship-yards decayed. While American

production increased tremendously, its merchant marine almost vanished from the sea, and in many foreign ports the American flag was seldom seen. American commerce was mainly carried by British, German, French, Dutch, and Norwegian ships.

The World War brought home to the American people the necessity of building anew our merchant marine. Docks were piled high with goods of every kind. There was insufficient cargo space to carry all the food and munitions for which Europe clamored, and freight rates increased to such an extent that the price of exportable agricultural products fell sharply. The people of those states which were distinctively agricultural, who had hitherto not been interested in maintaining an American merchant marine, now for the first time learned how shortsighted they had been. The War made it necessary for us to hasten ship-building irrespective of its cost. Millions of our men and equipment for them must be transported to Europe, and while British ships carried them over, American ships were desired to bring them back. The policy of increased ship-building once begun, America's success was extraordinary. Our shipyards were unlike those of Europe which were loaded up with out-of-date apparatus. On the contrary, ours were equipped with the most improved labor-saving machines. The American bridge-builder taught our shipbuilders how to

make steel plates from wooden or paper patterns which could be moulded with exactness and in sufficient quantity for the construction of many ships at the same time from one set of patterns. This standardization of parts rendered it unnecessary to delay the construction of other parts of a ship until one part was completed.

Perceiving that the fuel of the future was to be oil rather than coal, the United States Shipping Board planned oil-burning ships, thus increasing the cargo space, accelerating speed, and reducing the amount of labor necessary. In 1921 about 75% of the American merchant marine consisted of oil-burning vessels.

#### SUCCESS WITH STEEL SHIPS

The chief reasons for America's phenomenal success in steel shipbuilding have been twofold.

First, its yards are not old ones, encumbered by antiquated apparatus, as are most of those in Europe, where owners have been unwilling to undergo the effort or unable to incur the expense of completely rehabilitating them with a thoroughly modern layout and equipment. Of recent or comparatively recent origin, the great American steel shipyards were laid out on virgin ground, and hence from their very inception could be and were equipped with the most improved labor-saving

mechanisms and the most modern methods of structural-steel construction.

The second reason has been the discarding of the old dilatory steel shipbuilding methods by which the plates were slowly put together after the framework had been built. The American bridge-builder had shown how steel plates could be fabricated from wooden or paper patterns called templets. This idea was adopted by large American shipbuilding corporations before the war and was extensively put in practice during the war.

By this system it was not necessary to wait until one part of a ship was constructed before proceeding with the other parts. From the light paper patterns, steel plates could be molded with exact precision and in any quantity for the building of as many ships of the same class as the contracts called for. The plates could easily and expeditiously be fitted into place, and many ships could thus be built at the same time from one set of patterns. This fabricated system made practicable, at a minimum of expense, a large production of standardized ships. Great traveling cranes conveyed material throughout every part of the yard. To permit uninterrupted work, shipyards of the class of the New York Shipbuilding Corporation protected their workers from rain, cold and blistering summer heat by a huge roof structure over the main shops and ways.

There are two large classes of ocean traffic: first, the line traffic which carries passengers, mails, and certain kinds of freight; second, charter traffic—single ships commonly known as tramps, free to go when work offers and to lie in port when it does not offer. The line vessel must maintain a schedule whether full or empty, while a tramp steamer furnishes a much cheaper means of transportation. Hence, charter traffic is far greater in bulk. But line traffic is gaining on tramp traffic because of combination and because of the greater regularity of its ocean service.

### CANALS

From 1750 to 1850 an immense amount of capital both in Europe and America was invested in canals. Locks for controlling the flow and level of the water were invented toward the end of the Middle Ages. There are two classes of canals in the United States: those built to connect separate bodies of water, and those constructed to improve navigable streams. The first great success in canal building in the United States, the Erie, begun in 1817 and completed in 1825, immediately became a source of revenue, entirely paying for itself in ten years. Buffalo and Albany, its terminals, and many other cities along its route increased rapidly in population. The cost of freight was reduced between Buffalo and New York City from \$100 to \$20 a ton. It was



freed from tolls in 1882, but its percentage of traffic across the state diminished each year until 1900. To build up its usefulness, New York State appropriated \$101,000,000 to enlarge it into a barge canal. Its success was a spur to canal projects which connected Lake Erie and the Ohio, Lake Michigan and the Illinois, and other projects in the East. Each of these had a beneficial influence, though none completely fulfilled the hopes of its supporters. They relieved the highways of a large part of the growing traffic, carried many raw materials, the expense of whose transportation by road was prohibitive, and even carried an important volume of passenger traffic. But the great merit of the canal—cheapness—has been counteracted by the reduction of railroad rates, and its great weakness is due to the fact that in temperate climates canals are inoperative during at least a part of the winter. The slowness of this method of transportation also is a disadvantage. We read that traffic on nearly all inland waterways under the competition of the railways has all but disappeared, and the only waterways which promise public benefit are those whose terminal expenses favor the waterways instead of the railroad. A deepened St. Lawrence River connection between the Great Lakes and the Atlantic, and a ship canal across New Jersey are two waterway projects which promise good results.

But on the whole, traffic on rivers and canals is decreasing. The equipment used on our canals has seen little improvement since the early canal period. We still see wooden mule-drawn barges, most of them drawing only six feet and holding 240 tons. If larger barges, steam propelled, were more generally used, canal traffic would be greatly improved. There undoubtedly will come a revival of interest in this form of transportation. Several factors will bring this about. First, the tremendous increase in international commerce; second, canals can be used even more effectively than in the past to relieve congestion on the railroads, by the classification of freights and assignment of certain shipments to water routes; third, railroad costs are rising to such an extent that they will be increasingly prohibitive to the shipment of certain articles, but canal costs remain practically, or at least relatively, stationary; fourth, our national policy of conservation will be extended to improve existing means of water transportation.

One class of canals, the great ship canals, has increased greatly in importance in recent years. The Suez Canal, opened in 1869, connects the Mediterranean with the Red Sea, and thus provides a shorter route from Europe to the Far East than the older route around the Cape of Good Hope. In 1841, DeLesseps studied the Isthmus of Suez and interested the Khedive in the construction of a

canal, which was begun in 1859 and completed in ten years at the cost of \$100,000,000. The stock of this undertaking is now worth considerably over \$150,000,000, bringing in more than \$5,000,000 annually. The Panama Canal unites the waters of the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans, and its advantages are obvious. It shortens the water route between New York and San Francisco by 3,000 miles. It was begun in 1904 and completed in 1915, at a cost of about \$375,000,000. It is owned by the United States Government, so there is no stock value. Its receipts for 1920 were \$10,280,000. The Kaiser Wilhelm or Kiel Canal, between the Baltic and North Seas, completed in 1895, is of great commercial importance to Germany. With many other lesser waterways these canals bind the world more closely together and are aiding in the extension of European civilization over the entire world.

#### LAND TRANSPORTATION

All nations since the time of the Persians and Romans have realized the value of stone highways for rapidity and ease of transportation and communication of messages, movements of troops, and social intercommunication. During the colonial period of American history, there arose a demand for wagon roads. The first highways were scarcely more than widened bridle paths or trails, impassable at certain seasons of the year. The Govern-

ment, either of the nation or the state, at first did little to build permanent wagon roads. Instead, state-incorporated turnpike companies constructed roads with considerable care and kept them in repair, being authorized by the state to charge tolls for their use. Later on, roads were built with State funds and thrown open to the public, and taxes were raised for surveying, building, and repairing highways. In 1807 Gallatin proposed a scheme of internal improvements which resulted in the construction by the Federal Government of the Cumberland Road or National Pike from Washington to Vandalia, Illinois, which cost \$4,300,000. But under the influence of President Jackson, who doubted the constitutionality of this program, road-building ceased, and the states were compelled to take up the work. After 1850 the Federal Government resumed its policy of internal improvement, and during Wilson's first administration a "Good Road Law" offered national aid to the states in building roads so as to bring the farmer's market nearer to him.

Railroads were first built to further water transportation, particularly the canal system, but speedily proved their superiority to any other agency of transportation. They can go over mountains or tunnel through them; they suffer no serious seasonal stoppage of traffic; their greater speed is evident. The first railroad in the United States

was the Baltimore and Ohio, begun in 1828 and open for business in 1830. On this road horses and sails were first used as motive power. The development of the locomotive was evolutionary. It was found solely by accident that a sufficient resistance to make traction possible could be secured with smooth wheels upon a smooth track. George Stephenson produced the first successful type of locomotive in England. His invention consisted of two new features: a tubular boiler and a forced draft secured from the use of exhaust steam in the smoke-stack. The forced draft gave greater heat, and the tubular boiler afforded an increased heating surface, thus producing greater pressure and force. In America, horse railroads had been used in quarries in Massachusetts and Pennsylvania, and in 1826 gravity railroads were introduced in the mining of coal in the latter state. A stationary engine drew the cars up to the loading place, and gravity ran them back to where they were unloaded. The first locomotives were imported from England, but in 1825 John Stevens of Hoboken built and operated a locomotive on a circular track on his own estate. Soon Matthias Baldwin in Philadelphia and Peter Cooper in New York began to build them. In 1831 Peter Cooper's engine, the Tom Thumb, covered the thirteen miles from Baltimore to Ellicott's Mills in one hour. This was the first stretch of railroad in the present sense of the word.



Charles Carrol laid the first rail on July 4, 1828. He was the last survivor of the signers of the Declaration of Independence, and, President Hadley states, his life connected the political revolution of the eighteenth century with the industrial revolution of the nineteenth. In 1832 the DeWitt Clinton covered the seventeen miles from Albany to Schenectady in one hour. At the formal opening of this road, the Mohawk Valley, the legislators were carried from Albany to Schenectady, and there given a dinner at which one of the toasts voiced the prophesy: "The Buffalo Railroad—may we soon breakfast in Utica, dine in Rochester, and sup with our friends on Lake Erie."

The first New Jersey railroad was opened in 1832 between South Amboy and Bordentown. The railroad mileage increased from twenty-three miles in 1830, to three thousand miles in 1840, and since 1880 the average annual increase has exceeded ten thousand miles. At first the rails were wooden beams placed lengthwise, end to end, and with a strip of iron nailed on the upper surface to protect the wood from wear. But cast iron steel rails rapidly supplanted this type. One of the drawbacks of early railroad transportation was the great variance of gauges, or the distances between the rails, which necessitated frequent trans-shipment of freight and passengers. Railroad bridges were bitterly fought over for years by ferry com-

panies and rival cities. By the time of the Civil War, passenger cars on a few of the roads were lighted by gas, although as a rule, oil lamps furnished the only light. There was no steam heat on any cars, but instead the unevenly-distributed heat of the wood stove, always a source of danger in case of accident. The modern dining car was unknown and there were stops for meals at stations. The first diner was a smoking car in which a lunch counter was partitioned off in one corner. The rate of passenger trains was slow, averaging less than thirty miles an hour, and they were seldom on time. Steam engines were not allowed to run in the city streets. The Pennsylvania traversed Market Street in Philadelphia for a mile, where all cars were drawn through the street by mules. Then, as now, the newsboy was ubiquitous and it appeared to a London Times correspondent that Americans lived on gum-drops and tobacco. The English preferred to be locked up in compartments, away from the crowd; but Americans boasted of the more democratic character of their cars. The history of railroads since the Civil War has marked the development of greater luxury in travel, the standardization of railroad gauges, and the consolidation or merger of small lines into great trunk systems. Cooper's engine had a boiler the size of a flour barrel, and was about the size of a modern hand-car.

A great increase in comfort for passengers was made when the older loose-link, coupler, which caused the jolting of cars, was replaced by the automatic coupler. George M. Pullman did a great deal to improve car service. He originated the vestibuling principle in 1886. There is a great difference between the type of freight car used in Europe and that of America. There the five-ton open car is widely used. Here the standard box-car is of thirty tons and even forty tons capacity. Special types for coal, refrigeration, and stock have been developed. The introduction of steel for rails, bridges, and cars, and devices like the air-brake and the block system have tremendously increased the efficiency and comfort of railroad transportation.

The growth of railroads in America was more rapid than in any other country, chiefly because of governmental aid. In Europe railroads were built through relatively densely populated districts to connect towns or cities long established. In America most of the railroads were built in advance of, and to attract, population and business. American states gave railroads lands, subscribed to their stock, and released them from taxation. The National Government aided the transcontinental lines by giving them outright twenty square miles of land for every mile of track constructed. American railroads have received more public aid than

has ever been given to any other form of private enterprise. It was first thought that one company would construct the rails, and other companies would own the rolling stock and rent the right of way from the owning company. This plan was soon abandoned. The railroad company developed a monopoly at all points on its line not possessed by other carriers. Possessing a monopoly, they were able to charge what the traffic would bear, and various kinds of discrimination arose, such as discriminations among products, discriminations among localities, and discriminations among persons or corporations. Not long ago, railroads connecting the upper Lake region with the Atlantic coast charged a very low rate on east-bound wheat and a very high rate on flour. As a result, the Western millers were discriminated against. Railroads also have discriminated in rates in favor of cities in which they received special privileges. The worst variety of discrimination has been that between persons or corporations, which resulted in rebates to favored companies, and the stifling of small competition. Because of discrimination, railroads gained great economic and political power, and it was commonly charged in some states that the legislature and even the courts were owned by the railroads. In defense, the railroads claimed that they were the victims of attempts at blackmail by dishonest legislators who threatened all sort of

crippling, restrictive legislation if the railroads did not extend special favors to them and their friends. The railroads claimed that they had to maintain a lobby, take part in political conventions, and dictate nominations and elections.

These conditions fortunately have to a large extent been remedied by the development of a better code of business morals, while the relations between the government and the railroads are on a much more helpful basis than formerly. This improvement came about as a result of long and strenuous education and action. At first, states attempted to fix some maximum rates, but by 1915 every state had abandoned such a hit-or-miss policy and had set up state rule or public utilities commissions, such as that of New Jersey in 1911. This public-utilities commission has control not only over the railroads but over street railways, gas, electric light, telephone, and other public utilities. The state commissions have not uniformly helped the situation. It has been hard to get commissioners who were both able and honest. The public was not intelligent enough to insist on the commissions working properly, and of course a state commission could regulate only such traffic as began and ended within the state. In the grain-growing Northwest, where the people were peculiarly dependent on the railroads, a movement supported by a farmers' society, the patrons of husbandry, or



granges, resulted in the passage of a series of regulatory laws, usually called "Grangers' Laws." The state courts upheld these laws in general until a Federal decision in 1886 reserved from state jurisdiction all cases concerning commerce between the states. This decision hastened the move for a National Railroad Commission, and by the Inter-State Commerce Act of 1887, a commission was established which might investigate violations of the law forbidding rebates and discriminations. Yet these evils continued with only a little more secrecy, and in 1898 the commissioners hopelessly reported "a large part of the business at the present time is transacted upon illegal rates. Indeed, so general has this rule become, that in certain quarters the exaction of the published rate is the exception." The result was a series of acts intended to strengthen the power of the Government in checking railroad abuses. The Hepburn Act of 1903 increased the Commission from five to seven members; extended its authority to include express, sleeping car, and other transportation agencies, and gave it the power to fix maximum rates.

In 1910 the Mann-Elkins Act created a Court of Commerce for the enforcement of the orders of the Inter-State Commerce Commission, and stipulated that railroads must publish in writing the rate on each kind of shipment. But the Court

was practically abolished in a few years owing to failure of Congress to provide financial support.

In 1916 the Adamson Act was passed under the following circumstances: The brotherhoods had made a demand on the railroads for a standardization of the working day on train service and for the payment of a fixed overtime wage. The railroad heads refused and the brotherhoods prepared for a nation-wide strike. At this juncture, President Wilson invited a conference and proposed arbitration, which was agreed to by the employers but refused by the brotherhoods. Then he proposed the eight-hour standard, which was acceptable to the brotherhoods but refused by the railroads. The deadlock was broken by the passage of the Adamson Law by Congress, fixing the eight-hour standard.

The policy of the railroad administration during the war as stated by William G. McAdoo, under whose charge all the carriers of the country were consolidated for the period of the war, were: "first, the winning of the war to which everything else was subordinated; second, the service of the public rather than the creation of profits; third, the promotion of a better understanding between the railroad administration and the employees; fourth, the elimination of unnecessary expenses, payment of reasonable wages, standardization of equipment, and re-routing of traffic, all to effect economy."

It is conservative to say that Federal administration of the railroads was not thoroughly tested under war conditions. It was a bleak time when the Government took over the roads. The war and the severe wintry conditions so thoroughly congested the eastern lines and railroad yards that they did not move enough freight to pay expenses. Distinct improvements were made in shifting terminals, and re-routing some lines. The interchangeable ticket was a great convenience. All these advantages could be as well secured under private management.

At the time of the return to private control the railroads proposed the creation of a Department of Transportation, with a cabinet officer who should exercise the administrative functions now held by the Interstate Commerce Commission and some in addition; and that existing legislation forbidding pooling should be amended to provide for consolidation under strict government supervision, to be secured through Federal incorporation of all roads and control of issue of all railroad securities.

The brotherhoods, however, were interested in the Plumb plan for guild-socializing the railroads. They aimed to create government ownership under private operation by a corporation whose membership, for mutual benefit, would consist of every employee from president down to office boy. The directorate would be chosen as follows: Five

by the officials, five by the employees on classified list, and five by the President of the United States. The profits were to be divided evenly between the Government and the employees. Some believe that if the worker were thus given a real stake in his job the effect would be most beneficial. It would most certainly prevent any stock manipulation, and management would most certainly be in the hands of the workers, both white-collared and flannel-shirted. Of course the government would have to refund all existing railroad securities, and this makes prerequisite the valuation of all railroad properties. Much railroad stock is undoubtedly of the "watered variety" and is undoubtedly held in good faith by thousands of small investors, "widows and orphans, etc.," whose equity would be seriously menaced if an honest valuation were made by government order. As to how this injustice could be overcome, the promoters of the plan do not seem to give us any solution.

The question of the railroads is one of the most serious problems for American democracy today. The governmental regulation of railroads was begun only after the American people were thoroughly convinced that the railroad business was essentially monopolistic, and that private individuals were wholly unable to cope with the situation. There is a vital difference between

government regulation and government ownership. The latter is revolutionary in its very nature, and the administrative problems it creates are of tremendous difficulty of adjustment. The American nation has resolutely set its face against unregulated private ownership. Public sentiment has by no means crystallized in favor of public ownership. For the time being, our policy seems to be private ownership under such strict, honest, and efficient government regulation as can be secured. Private enterprise must be safeguarded in carrying on this public work, yet public interests are paramount and must be protected. In February, 1920, an important law was passed—the Cummins-Esch Law. This provided for the compulsory submission of labor disputes of carriers to a permanent Federal Board of nine, to be appointed by the President: three from the employers, three from the employees, and three from the public. The Interstate Commerce Commission was given the power to adjust railroad rates to yield five and one-half per cent profits to the railroad companies and to establish minimum rates to prevent “cut-throat” competition. The Commission was increased to eleven and given a salary of \$12,000 annually each. The railroads were guaranteed against a deficit for six months, and a consolidation plan for the railroads was to be prepared by the Commission which was also given power to



compel joint use of terminals and to direct the movement of traffic. The Commission was furthermore to supervise the issuance of stocks and bonds of railroads.

Considerable progress in the development of inter-urban transportation has been made by the electric roads. They have an advantage over steam lines in being able to provide a more frequent passenger service. The steam train must consist of a locomotive and one or more coaches. The electric car runs as a unit or in trains, varied to meet the demands of the traffic. The electric inter-urban can co-ordinate more closely with the urban transit facilities, and thus add to the convenience of passengers. The rate of fare is lower. Moreover, it can greatly aid in transportation of freight, farm products, etc. Electrification of former steam lines, particularly where they come into great metropolitan areas, has been a great improvement.

A great expansion of freight transportation by auto trucks is just beginning, and it is to be noted that two factors have made possible the efficiency of the automobile for transportation purposes: first, the network of permanently-constructed county, state, and national highways; second, the discovery and development of the type of engine peculiarly adapted to this type of vehicle, the internal combustion engine. The gasoline motor is thus

designated. This is because the fuel, a mixture of gasoline vapor and air, is supplied directly to the cylinder where it is ignited, and by its combustion and expansion furnishes the working power. Both the steam and the combustion engines are heat engines, for they convert heat energy into working or mechanical energy. The chief difference between them is the place where the fuel is burned. An automobile motor generally consists of four, six, eight, or twelve cylinders, but it is to be noted that the operation is the same for twelve as for four. At the first stroke of the piston the inlet valve opens and the piston draws into the cylinder the explosive mixture of gas and air. The second stroke moves backward, closing the valve and compressing the mixture. Then an electric spark ignites the mixture, which, by exploding and expanding, drives forward the piston. The fourth stroke closes the outlet valve and returns to first position. The usefulness of the gasoline motor depends upon the carburetor in which the gasoline is vaporized and mixed with the right proportion of air, and upon an electric spark, the current for which is derived from a battery of cells or from a magneto.

The operation and advancement of land and sea transportation have been aided tremendously by the invention of the telephone, the telegraph, the marine telegraph or cable, and especially of the wireless telegraph. While formerly the ocean held

terrors for all seafarers, and the man embarking on a long voyage felt as if he were gambling with the elements, today he is almost as safe on ship-board as in his own home. All ocean liners carry wireless outfits, and if any accident peculiar to the sea happens to the ship as a result of storm, fire, icebergs, or collision with another vessel, S. O. S., the wireless call for help, will bring several ships to the rescue; and a new emergency radio call, "KDKF," will obtain expert medical advice to be followed in cases where individual life is in danger. The telegraph on land permits a speedier and safer operation of trains, the rapid transaction of business, and a prompt co-ordination of governmental activities in time of national need, such as war or other disasters. The cable, or submarine telegraph line, enables the transmission of messages carried by an electric current through an insulated cable under sea and river. In the fall of 1915 wireless telephonic messages were transmitted from Arlington, Virginia, to the Pacific coast, and stray messages were picked up by operators in Hawaii. In January, 1921, a young man on a United States cruiser, on the Pacific between Hawaii and Panama, talked with his father near New York City, using the wireless phone of the ship which was in communication with his home phone. As one telephone expert says, the time may soon come when one can drop a coin in the slot of a

telephone in New York City and talk with a friend on the Place de l'Opera, Paris. Many, if not all, of these improvements have received a great impetus since 1870 from the rapidly expanding industry and commerce of the world. On the other hand, commerce and industry have in turn been assisted by the perfection of these distance-defying devices of man.

Transportation in the air is, of course, in its infancy and far more highly developed in Europe as a commercial proposition than in America. It is true that a beginning has been made in this country, particularly in the carrying of mail, but it seems rather regrettable that the birth-place of the Wright Brothers and other pioneers in aeronautics should not continue to lead the world in this branch of the transportation industry. It should not be forgotten that Commander-Lieutenant Albert Cushing Read of the United States Navy in the seaplane NC-4 made the first successful flight across the Atlantic from Rockaway, Long Island, to Plymouth, England, via Halifax, the Azores, and Lisbon, a distance of 3,925 miles, in fifty-seven and one-quarter hours of actual flying time. A great deal of attention is also given to the development of the dirigible as a future mode of commercial transportation. The British Dirigible, R-34, Major G. H. Scott in command, flew

from Edinburgh to Mineola, a distance of 3,200 miles, in a non-stop flight of 108 hours.

#### THE SIGNIFICANCE OF EASE AND RAPIDITY OF INTERCOMMUNICATION

The ease and rapidity of transportation and intercommunication have had a tremendous influence on the development of American democracy. Without the railroads, industry would never have reached the interior of our extensive territory. They have opened up new regions for occupation and production. Competition between world markets has greatly lowered prices of commodities, resulting in the greater distribution of comforts and the wider use of articles formerly considered luxuries. This competition has been fostered by the vast increase in production rendered possible by the greater mobility of labor, fuel, and raw material, and by the expediting of commercial transactions through the telegraph and telephone. The gains have not been solely economic, but political and social as well. This is well illustrated by the many examples in American history of sectional interest and intersectional disputes which resulted partly from a then existing lack of intercommunication. The need of better means of communication led to the Annapolis convention in 1785 which, in turn, resulted in the formation of the Constitution of the United States. The Virginia and Kentucky



resolutions illustrated the danger of sectional jealousies and showed the need of greater national co-ordination, as did the Hartford convention in 1814. The Burr conspiracy could never have assumed such formidable proportions in these days of telegraphs and telephones. In the case of *Gibbons vs. Ogden*, Chief Justice Marshall in 1824 established the principle that commerce is of vital importance in building up harmony between different sections of the country. New York State had passed a law giving to Robert Fulton and Robert Livingston exclusive rights of navigating the waters within the jurisdiction of that state with steamboats. The Supreme Court decided that the law was invalid in respect to vessels licensed by the United States for the coasting trade; for example, vessels plying between New York and New Jersey. Commercial jealousy between the North and the South was one of the most potent factors leading to the secession of the Southern Confederacy in 1860.

Probably the near future will witness a development of transportation on land, on sea, in the air, and under the sea on a scale hardly to be estimated. We can imagine monorail trains propelled by electric power from great central stations which have harnessed the rivers and water falls and even the tides; endless development of moving sidewalks to help solve the crowded subway and surface transit

in our cities; the coming of Flivver airplanes, more lofty cousins of the humble Henrys of today; majestic fleets of transatlantic fliers, such as Kipling visioned in "The Night Mail"—huge floating Biltmores, carrying populations of an entire city in speed and comfort between the great metropolises of the world. We are on the threshold of wonderful scientific discoveries which will make the world of 1920 seem as archaic to the next generation as does Europe of Queen Elizabeth's time to us. Who can conjecture the tremendous increase of intercommunication when audible and visual messages will be flashed by wireless to and from every quarter of the globe, or the economic and social revolution which will be produced thereby in the life of man?

### QUESTIONS

1. Discuss the powers and duties of the Interstate Commerce Commission.
2. What are the powers and duties of the New Jersey Public Utilities Commission?
3. What is multiple telephony?
4. What factors enter into the determination of railroad rates?
5. Show the relation between transportation rates and the cost of living.
6. What are the transportation problems of your community?

7. What policy should be adopted with respect to the merchant marine?

8. Why were the great highways called turn-pikes?

9. What obstacles did the early builders of railroads have to overcome?

10. What are some of the difficulties in the way of a valuation of the railroads of this country?

11. Define these terms: railroad pool, long and short hauls, the Plumb plan.

12. Describe the first steamboat and compare its construction, capacity, and speed with modern river boats like those which ply on the Hudson.

13. Describe the early locomotives and compare their construction, appearance, tractile capacity, and speed with modern locomotives.

14. Describe the system under which the railroads in this country were operated during the Great War.

15. Discuss the development of electric inter-urban railroads, and show their importance.

16. What improvements have been made in our post-office system?

17. Look up the events leading to the building of the Panama Canal.

# KNOW WHERE YOUR COMMUNITY FAILS



Bad Housing



Crowded Schools



Bad Working Conditions



*By courtesy of the U. S. Reclamation Service.*

THE RIO GRANDE IRRIGATION PROJECT IN NEW MEXICO, SHOWING A PORTION OF THE DESERT BEFORE AND AFTER IRRIGATION. A FINE FIELD OF CABBAGE HAS BEEN THE RESULT OF BRINGING WATER TO THIS ARID BUT FERTILE REGION.



## CHAPTER VII

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## CONSERVATION

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### INTRODUCTION

Man has been such a conscienceless robber of the riches of Mother Nature that he has left her little better than bare in many places. Instead of developing the gifts of the earth, tilling the soil,

planting trees, or making wise use of mineral products, he has permitted the soil to become impoverished; he has destroyed forests in a wanton disregard of economy; and has enriched himself from mines with utter selfishness and no thought of coming generations. The greatest obstacle in the way of scientific conservation that life may go on in this old world of ours is that it must be operated by the very being who has rendered it necessary.

Says Ferrero: "The countryside has in the last half century been too much neglected, exactly as began to be the case in the Roman Empire at the beginning of the second century. It is easy to guess what must have been the consequence of this lop-sided arrangement. The cities grow bigger, industries increase in size; the luxury and the needs of the masses, crowded together in the cities, augment. On the other hand, there is no proportionate increase in the productivity of the land. And the increase in wealth is accompanied by an ever increasing scarcity of the fruits of the earth."

And the conservation of our human resources is of equal difficulty. "To be a nation of good animals," says Herbert Spencer, "is the first condition of national prosperity." Yet go through the poorer quarters of our cities, and also through the wealthier homes, and we find evidences of the demoralizing effects of our modern civilization.

One authority says: "The progressive civilization of the last hundred years has worked terribly against the health and perpetuity of the whole race. This is seen in the reduced vitality of the multitude which inhabit closely built cities, in the diminished size of families, in the incapacity of women to bear and nurse children, in the disproportionate increase of the insane, defectives and criminally inclined. Cities like London, Paris, New York and Chicago bear witness that modern civilization is all the time preparing and promoting its own destruction." This may seem radically strong; it certainly is alarming. But it surely shows how vital to American democracy is the entire conservation program. We must conserve the material and physical basis of our democracy. We must stop the destruction of life and health in mine and factory, in city and country, from work and vicious living; we must cease our reckless exploitation of the gifts of nature, and conserve what we have left wisely and scientifically. Irving Fisher has shown that the annual loss to this country through preventable diseases and death is over \$1,500,000,000. But the monetary loss is after all only a fraction of the real loss, for there is also the loss to society which may be called moral and mental, in the injury or death of individuals who are in themselves potential creators of great wealth. Death leaves the shining mark, and we

must not assume that those who are thus lopped off from the tree of society are the misfits or weaker members only. In fact, the victims may be as efficient and valuable as any other men, women, and children.

"If there is some advantage in a progressive society in having a preponderance in it of youth, there is also an infinite social loss in having individuals cut off just as they are prepared to render the largest social service. All arrangements in the family, the community, and the nation suffer because of the needless uncertainty of life and health."

#### CHILD LABOR

A prerequisite condition for the proper functioning of American democracy is the adoption of a sound policy of preservation of life and health of our population, and intelligent conservation of our natural resources. Our human resources are infinitely more valuable than all the material possessions of our country, but these have been frightfully abused and wasted. In studying this problem, we must consider how it is affected by child labor, woman labor, industrial accidents and diseases.

Child labor is found both in manufacturing and in agriculture. The chief manufacturing commonwealths, such as Massachusetts, New York, Penn-

sylvania, and Illinois, naturally have the largest numbers of children employed in manufacturing. Indeed, since the industrial development of the country, this has become a most serious problem, for there were formerly about two million child laborers under sixteen years of age in the United States. Child labor is employed principally in glass factories, cotton mills, coal mines, and agriculture. The causes of the great proportions to which this evil has grown may be traced first to poverty. Fathers, themselves unable to earn a sufficient wage to purchase not only the luxuries of life for their families, but in most cases even the stern necessities as well, have permitted their children to eke out the meagre family income. Second, the Industrial Revolution itself, by substituting mechanical machine operations easily carried on by children for the highly trained craftsmanship of the preceding industrial period, which maturity alone could guarantee, has seemed almost to necessitate the employment of children. Third, although public-spirited legislatures have from time to time attempted to cure the evil by the enactment of compulsory school laws, such laws have been very inadequately enforced, and in many states are more honored in their breach than in their observance. Fourth, the public has not been sufficiently awake to the far-reaching effects of this evil, and it is at the door of this public



indifference, perhaps, that we may lay a great part of the increase in child labor. Fifth, child labor is believed to be a cheap labor and economic pressure seems to force employers to make use of children. Child labor may be cheap labor, but its product is even cheaper. Yet, from several points of view, child labor is far from cheap because the value of the child's life to the community should be reckoned into the cost of manufacture. When we come to examine the effects of child labor, we shall better understand what is meant.

First, the child is injured in health, and its body is poorly developed and stunted. The child's body is building at the age most demanded in child-employing industries, and its growth should not be interfered with by imposing upon it the restrictive conditions of monotonous industry in a factory. Second, education is neglected. That is, education of a right sort, for the child often ceases to be a child in knowledge while he still thinks as a child. He has no wholesome home or school influence to prevent the demoralizing consequences. As a result of the nerve strain involved, he often engages in actions which render him a menace to society. Third, child labor undermines a normal, wholesome family life. Factory work renders the girl untrained in the fundamental principles of home-making, and the boy, an unskilled worker who grows into the child-labor man, utterly in-

capable of becoming a suitable father. Fourth, child labor reduces the general average of wages, and inevitably prevents the father from attaining a scale of wages adequate to maintain his family in comfort. Fifth, child labor produces an inferior type of citizen totally unable to function properly in the complex life of today. It is from this class that are recruited the criminal type and the discontented radical. As the National Child Labor Committee well says: "Child labor costs the child accidents and diseases, lack of education, and material and spiritual loss; it costs industry waste of products, smaller profits in the long run, and lower efficiency of child-labor adults; while it costs society wrecked lives, broken homes, ignorant citizens, and crime and vice."

There have been many movements to abolish this evil, both in state and nation. Various states have studied the question, as a result of the activities of private agencies and of legislators, and have attempted to legislate against it. The great trouble has been that the state laws are not uniform, nor are they far-reaching enough. Most states specify fourteen years as the minimum age at which a child may be employed. New Jersey is one of the most progressive states as shown by the Continuation School Law of 1920 which is just being put into effect. In 1912, the U. S. Government established the Federal Child Labor

Bureau which was charged with studying and reporting upon conditions affecting the welfare of children. Other investigations have been carried on by the Industrial Commission, the Bureau of the Census, and the Bureau of Labor, all of whose reports have served to inform the public on the question. The most influential body working for a Federal statute has been the National Labor Committee. The first child labor act which prohibited the transportation of articles manufactured by child labor in interstate commerce was declared unconstitutional by a vote of five to four in the Supreme Court on the ground that this was an invasion by the Federal Government of the control of a matter of purely local concern. A second child labor law was then passed by Congress which placed a tax of ten per cent on all products of child labor under fourteen in interstate commerce. The Supreme Court in 1922 declared this law unconstitutional. Probably it will require a constitutional amendment, before effective legislation can be secured.

#### WOMAN IN INDUSTRY

The problem here is not the same as in child labor. There the aim is to end it; here the aim is to protect the women while at work, and, as there are today nearly ten million women in gainful occupations in this country, it is evident that the solution of this problem is of immediate concern.

The increasing employment of women in machine industry is no longer due to the scarcity of available men, as during the war, but to greater relative cheapness. Why are women paid less than men? The highly-paid industries have been almost always monopolized by men, and this applies not only to manual work, whether skilled or unskilled, but also to intellectual and artistic work, up to a certain point. Of course where the product is of superior intellectual or artistic worth, as in the case of a great author or singer, sex makes no difference, and in certain professions or positions women can command a higher wage than men simply because men cannot render that particular type of service. Probably the average person, if asked why women are paid less than men, would reply: "Because women cannot work so hard; because they can live upon less than men; or because it is harder for a woman to get a job."

Yet, it is necessary for us to go a little further than these three rough answers. First, considering the alleged inferiority of efficiency of woman as compared with man, it must be admitted that in the past, at least, her physical weakness barred her from many occupations, and this holds good notwithstanding the appearance of women in many of our industries during the war, for in all those where physical strength is essential, the product of women's labor tends to be less than man's, even

though greater quickness or delicacy of touch may partially compensate. Where brute strength is an essential, there is no question at all. Second, male workers have been reluctant to let women enter certain industries or perform certain processes which men have rather jealously regarded as their own. Defensible or not, this unquestionably has reduced woman labor in certain industries. Another manifestation of this sex antagonism has resulted in barring women from positions of responsibility, and the result has been to the financial disadvantage of woman. Third, the influence of marriage and home life has acted to keep women's wages low. The expectation of non-continuance in industry after marriage has operated to induce women to accept a lower wage than they would have done had they expected to make the industry their life work, while the drain upon industrial efficiency of domestic work has also contributed to this end. Fourth, women are more often absent from work because of illness and of family demands than are men. This greater irregularity of working time has militated against equal wages. Fifth, woman's labor is less mobile than man's. While a young man can pack his suitcase and go roving about the country in search of desirable employment, and live under conditions of social freedom without any criticism attaching to his conduct, society is censorious if the young woman attempts to do



the same. "Strange man" has not the sinister interpretation that "strange woman" has, and finally, man has raised his wages considerably because of the power of collective bargaining through organization, but woman has not been as happy or as successful in wielding power through organization as man. It may be true that this condition no longer applies, but it did apply and we are studying a situation which has its roots in the past.

While woman's wage has not been satisfactory, neither have been her working conditions. Excessive hours of labor, unsanitary surroundings, requirements of prolonged and monotonous posture while at work, are a few of the conditions to be improved for women in industry, for weak mothers mean weak children and social deterioration. Among the remedies suggested, and in some states enacted into law, are: first, limitation to eight hours work a day and prohibition of night work; second, provision for sitting while engaged in certain types of work; third, provisions for a rest period during each working day of at least an hour; fourth, safeguarding of dangerous machinery; fifth, the adoption of the principle of "equal pay for equal work," and the enactment of minimum wage laws.

Public opinion has by no means united in accepting the last-mentioned principle. So it will be well

to give some of the important arguments for and against the minimum wage. The advantages claimed are: first, that the more helpless of the laboring population share in the gains made by the stronger through organization; second, a minimum wage would more sharply draw a line between the unemployable and unemployed, thus enabling society to sort these two classes out and deal more effectively with the problems of each; third, the feeling of competition between workers would be restricted. Ability and efficiency would become of greater service in obtaining work than submissiveness and willingness to work for a pittance; fourth, competition between employers would be restricted, for the employer whose success lay in his ability to drive a hard bargain with his employees would lose his advantage.

On the other hand, some authorities urge that the minimum wage is really antagonistic to the interests of labor since ordinary business would either not employ a worker incapable of better work than that produced at the minimum wage, or else that the minimum wage would also become the maximum wage, and hence such a law would tend to lower the entire wage level. Furthermore, they point out the practical impossibility of enforcement. It will be seen from the above discussion of the minimum wage that it applies not only to woman's labor but also to man's labor.

## INDUSTRIAL ACCIDENTS

Modern industry is accompanied by great hazard which results in tremendous losses of life and productivity. Such accidents during a single year take a more fearful toll of life and limb than did the Great War. Yet the public consciousness has only just begun to turn its attention to a remedy. The fact is that such accidents are the result of the nature of modern industry on the one hand, and the imperfection of human nature on the other. Modern business uses forces whose powers of destruction when out of control are as great as their usefulness under control, and these forces involve complicated machinery which the average individual worker does not fully understand, but with whose motions his own action must closely follow in speed and direction.

Furthermore, one worker depends upon the efficiency of sometimes thousands of fellow workers for his very safety. "A hidden defect of even a minor part or a momentary lapse of memory or of attention by a single individual may imperil the lives of hundreds. A tower man momentarily forgets an order or a brittle rail gives way, and a train loaded with human freight dashes to destruction. A steel beam yields to a pressure that it was calculated to bear, and a skyscraper collapses, burying a small army of workmen in the ruins." Hu-

man nature will not stand the strain put on it by modern industry. "The common man is neither an automaton nor an animated slide rule." In consequence, he fails to remove his hand quickly enough and is caught in the machinery.

Two of the most significant indications of a movement for prevention of industrial accidents are the Safety First movement and the activities of the Red Cross. Railroads have become keenly awake to the necessity of guarding against accidents, as witnessed by such orders as this: "Employees before they attempt to make cup links or to uncouple, will examine and see that the cars or engines to be coupled or uncoupled and other appliances connected therewith, ties, rails, tracks and roadbeds, are in good safe condition." Many railroad accidents are caused by trespassing on the railroads. Railroads cannot safeguard every inch of their right of way. It is unreasonable to expect that they will do more than safeguard certain established crossings. They have engaged in a campaign of education, displaying many posters in stations, street cars, and places where people congregate, and as a result, statistics show a wholesome decrease in accidents. In 1918 the United States Railroad Administration created a safety section in the operating division. During the first five months there were 867 fewer fatalities and 16,677 fewer persons seriously injured than in

the same period of the preceding year. Among the methods now taken by railroads to prevent accidents are the following: first, instruction of employees concerning the dangers of the occupation; second, inspection of different parts of the work; third, discipline of employees who show carelessness.

There are many accidents in mines. The accident rate and death rate in this country are higher than in Europe. One reason for the great hazard in the mining industry is that the work is carried on very largely by foreigners who do not speak our language and cannot read warning signs, and who know practically nothing about our laws and customs. In the coal mines less than 50% speak English. The solution of this problem is closely linked up with the problem of immigration and Americanization. Miners have themselves organized committees on safety and have promoted safety campaigns, and some companies have adopted plans to reduce the numerous small accidents caused by caving in. The Federal Bureau of Mines has been active in studying the causes of accidents and has in operation several safety stations throughout the mining districts.

A democratic society today recognizes that social insurance is one of the best agencies for conservation of its man power. Social insurance may be voluntary or compulsory, private or governmental,



or both combined. It may cover accident, old age, or other incapacitation, unemployment, death, or merely illness. Three arguments for compulsory sickness insurance are as follows: First, the demonstrated inability to bring the poorest workmen who need protection the most into the system of insurance by any other means than compulsion; second, as industry and society are partially responsible for illness, it is just that industry and society should share the burden of such illness which is really heavier than the individual workman can carry, compulsion being exercised upon him to meet a portion of the cost only. It is essential that certain standard requirements be fulfilled by insurance agencies in order that insurance may be properly adjusted, and only by a system of compulsory insurance can such standards be attained.

Arguments against social insurance are advanced by conservatives in the ranks of both capital and labor. It is urged that compulsory insurance undermines the personal liberty of the worker, exploits the careful and sound-living to help support the idle, careless, or dissipated, and removes the incentive to thrift furnished by the necessity of saving for a possible "rainy day." While these objections may be sound in some instances, the fact remains that the principle of social insurance

has been accepted in all the leading countries of the world as a sound means of conservation.

Modern industrial processes have caused a great increase in occupational diseases. The sudden changes in temperature in certain industries are a strain on the constitution of the worker. He is exposed often to the fumes of lead and other chemicals. In the woolen industry he is liable to contract anthrax. In the cotton industry his lungs are filled with particles of lint which are constantly floating in the air. Before the prohibition of phosphorus matches, many workmen suffered from the horrible bone disintegration caused by that chemical. Perhaps you have seen the "canaries," as the workmen in the chemical factories are sometimes called, whose skins are stained yellow by the fumes. The monotonous speeded-up character of machine industry causes great fatigue, which in turn produces a lowered resistance to contagious diseases, tendency to nervous breakdown, degeneracy of future generations, and proneness to moral weakness.

It is sound conservation for the state to adopt a very strict policy of factory regulation. Such a system should include prevention of dusty processes, or, at least, removal of dust at the point of origin by a system of exhaust ventilation, or by isolation of the dusty process in one portion of the plant; second, cleanliness of the worker, who should

be given proper clothing, facilities for washing and bathing, and medical inspection; third, guarding of dangerous machinery; fourth, regulation of the hours of labor; vigorous sanitary requirements; substitution of non-poisonous processes where possible for present poisonous or dangerous processes; and lastly, and most important, the honest and impartial enforcement of the existing laws by competent factory inspections. In New Jersey, inspectors are under civil service but are not protected from arbitrary dismissal, because of the character of the Commission. No special training is required, and the civil service examinations are wholly inadequate and can be passed easily by cramming. Inspectors should have security of tenure, regular promotion for merit, a pension system, and higher qualifications and salaries.

### INDUSTRIAL DISEASES

Industrial diseases are one of the worst scourges of our modern civilization. Machine industry is dusty, and the relation between dust and disease is clearly traceable. Dust may cause disease either mechanically or chemically. It may close the pores, act as a chronic irritant and so prepare a surface for infection; it may be absorbed through the skin, although this is questioned by some authorities; it certainly carries infectious germs to open wounds, causes skin diseases, 'dangerous eye

trouble, asthma, and serious diseases such as tuberculosis. Dust consists of mineral particles, as well as vegetable and animal matter. Some of the poisons used in industry are ammonia, antimony, arsenic, benzine, brass, carbon, chlorine, hydrochloric acid, lead, mercury, wood alcohol, nitrous gases, phosphorus, and sulphur. These cause anaemia, kidney trouble, digestive disorders, cardiac trouble, neurasthenia, epilepsy and insanity.

A program for insuring industrial health is as follows:

First—Preliminary examination.

Second—Periodical re-examination.

Third—Dispensary and clinic treatment.

Fourth—Sanitary supervision of plant.

Fifth—Supervision of the personal hygiene of workers.

Sixth—Hygienic education of workers.

Seventh—General medical care of workers and their families.

## PUBLIC HEALTH

There are few members of our communities today who do not recognize that it is the duty of the state to regulate public health. Without doubt, with proper effort in this direction, human life can be greatly prolonged. In Sweden the average life is fifty-two and one-quarter years; in

India twenty-three and one-half years; and in America about forty-eight years. Sweden's high average may be due to the stimulating qualities of her climate and to her earlier restriction of the use of alcohol. India's low average is due to the unsanitary habits of its population. Probably the length of human life has doubled from the time of Queen Elizabeth to the present day. Undoubtedly, it is a conservative estimate which places the possibility of prolonging life in this country fifteen years. Great progress has been made in the eradication of contagious and infectious diseases, such as smallpox, diphtheria, yellow fever, and typhoid, and one authority estimates that if Americans could bring themselves to submit to the requisite governmental regulation, all such diseases would be practically eliminated in less than a century.

Tuberculosis is still a great problem. There are about a million white plague cases in the United States which should be cared for either at home or in state institutions. Tuberculosis is neither hereditary nor incurable, and requires plenty of nourishing food and fresh air rather than drugs.

The American Association for the Prevention of Infant Mortality estimates that 240,000 children under one year of age die annually in the United States. The principal reasons for this great infant mortality are: the ignorance of mothers who do not know how to feed and care for their children prop-



erly; unclean milk, and unsanitary housing conditions. The remedies are obvious. The state should include in its educational curriculum education for motherhood and extend this information by every means possible to those who have already passed beyond the schools. A closer watch must be maintained over the milk supply, and more adequate and more strictly enforced tenement house laws should be secured.

Public health education is badly needed but the public is sadly indifferent to the need. Perhaps it is as great a problem to awaken a realization of its necessity as it is to give the necessary instruction. Various sorts of publications are issued by state and national agencies, the health departments, etc., on water supply, sewage disposal, rational diet, and many other subjects which vitally concern public health. The moving picture may be made extremely useful and lectures should be well advertised and rendered as attractive as possible. Especially important is the subject of child welfare, and prospective mothers should receive sympathetic attention. A child clinic in connection with community milk depots where mothers would be encouraged to bring their children frequently for weighing in order to determine whether they are properly nourished would greatly advance the welfare of the children. Existing quarantine regulations bear heavily on the families of the poor.

The sustaining member of the family is often quarantined with the rest of the family and thus all must suffer an economic loss which they can hardly bear. We should be prepared to furnish hospitals for all cases of contagious diseases, for effective segregation cannot be maintained in any other way. Family quarantines too often spread the infection through the entire family, but as these diseases are spread by society, society should expect to care for them at public expense.

The greatest asset of man is health, and health means happiness. "We should live a life in which disease is practically eliminated, in which the normal condition is that of health and efficiency. When the time comes to go, a human being should die as a dead twig is snapped from the tree by a wind, and not with a lingering sickness."

Attempting to ward off industrial insecurity, some states have been very active in investigating the subject of health insurance, and Ohio and New York have recommended legislation on this subject.

### THE CONSERVATION OF NATURAL RESOURCES

By natural resources we mean those which may be used for the benefit of man. There are two classes of these: those practically unlimited in abundance; and those so limited as to be inadequate to the needs of man, either at the present or at some future time. Conservation is concerned with the

latter class. It is, of course, impossible to conserve all of these in the sense of absolutely replacing them. But it is growing to be more and more a concern of American democracy to educate our people in their wise and abstemious employment. Many countries, such as China, serve as warning to us. The modern conservation movement has been due to scientific men whose recommendations have induced the United States Government to turn its attention to the preservation of the natural resources of the country. It was seen that there was a close connection between the forests and the water supply. Hence, President Roosevelt in 1907 appointed the Inland Waterways Commission, and this Commission led to a conference of the governors of the states to consider the question of conservation. The conference made it clear that the foundation of our prosperity rests upon conservation. Shortly thereafter, President Roosevelt appointed the National Conservation Commission, and forty-one states have established state conservation commissions.

Our natural resources are divided into four main divisions: minerals, water, forests, and soils.

The estimated annual value of the mineral products of the United States is about two billion dollars which, of course, covers three divisions: fuel, metals, and non-metals. The Anthracite Coal Commission reports that up to 1908 from one

to one and a half tons of hard coal have been wasted for every ton mined. It has been estimated that at this rate the coal supply will be exhausted by 2027 unless new supplies are found. It is not too late to begin a policy of conservation, as only one per cent of our original coal supply has as yet been used. But the waste of coal must be reduced. We must require that it be mined with a higher degree of efficiency, and substitute other fuels for it when possible.

The remedies for waste in the mining and use of coal are: first, to get out all the coal in existing mines by substituting other means of support for that coal which is at present left to serve as pillars; second, to mix with coal tar and use the slag and waste material which is now a dead loss; third, to replace the beehive oven with the retort oven, which yields not only a greater amount of coke per ton, but many valuable by-products, such as gas, coal tar, and ammonia. The amount saved in West Virginia by a substitution of this kind during a period of six months would have made possible a six-million-dollar educational fund. Fourth, to install mechanical stokers and smoke-consuming devices which permit the maximum number of heat units to be obtained from a ton of coal, and which also protect the health of the community by eliminating noxious fumes; and finally, to use coal only for those purposes to which

it is best adapted. For instance, only bituminous coal ought to be burned in locomotives and it will be found that proper smoke-consuming devices will render any railroad fit for "Phoebe Snow." In order to secure these reforms, legislation is necessary.

Petroleum—The conservation of petroleum is a much more serious problem than that of coal, for the rate of extraction has increased more rapidly and the entire supply has been more nearly used. Drake drained the first oil well in Pennsylvania in 1859, and in that year two thousand barrels were produced; by 1861 two million barrels, by 1903 over one hundred million barrels, and in 1917 three hundred and forty-eight million barrels. At present, there are about 250,000 wells in operation. Oil is produced in Pennsylvania, Ohio, California, West Virginia, Texas, Illinois, Louisiana, and Oklahoma. The necessity for conservation is great. Petroleum is now used for lubricating purposes, for power and light, and many valuable by-products are derived from it. It is evident that it should be used only for those purposes for which other things cannot be substituted—for instance, lubrication. Its use as fuel for power and light will have to be reduced and very possibly its exportation from the country severely restricted. It is true that there are probably other petroleum fields in the world which have not yet been tapped.



Some of these have already been discovered in Mexico, Persia, and China.

There has also been much loss of natural gas due to indifference with regard to its waste. In some cases wells have caught fire and burned for twenty years, until they have produced flaming lakes, without rendering any service to anyone. One such burning gas well in Louisiana wastes daily sufficient gas to light the city of New York.

### FORESTS

Originally about 45% of the total area of our country was covered with forests, an area not equaled by any other civilized nation, especially in timber useful for building purposes. The present area is about 65% of what it once was. Of this, one-fifth is owned by the public and four-fifths by private individuals. The best timber has been cut, and existing timber has been seriously injured by fires. This rapid deforestation is due to two causes—use and waste. About three-fifths of the wood is used for timber, one-fifth for fire wood, and one-fifth for miscellaneous purposes, such as for woodpulp and distillation. The waste of timber is enormous and is caused mostly by forest fires. In 1919 fires were the most destructive of any recorded. Over two million acres of forest land were burned. During 1918 there were 5,573 fires in the national forests, about half of which

were caused by carelessness. The second cause of waste is carelessness in cutting. It is estimated that one-half the timber is wasted in logging operations and further loss occurs in the mills and factories, so that about three-eighths of sawed timber goes into manufactured articles. As a result of deforestation, very high and very low stages of water on navigable rivers occur and many floods. In order to conserve our forest supply, we must reduce waste in cutting, milling, and manufacture; must extend the life of timber by preservation treatments; utilize by-products, reduce fire losses, re-forest areas burned over; maintain forests on essential areas; battle with insect pests, and substitute other materials for wood. Some beginnings have been made to preserve our forests by legislation. By a national law passed in 1901 the President was given the authority to set aside forest land for reservations. The Bureau of Forestry was established in 1897. Gifford Pinchot became its chief in 1898. Many states, New Jersey among the number, have forest preserves. An interesting question is whether Federal or state regulation of this problem is preferable. Probably we need both. According to the United States Forest Service, "by reasonable thrift we can conserve the usefulness of our streams for irrigation, water supply, navigation, and power. Under right management our forests will yield over four times as much

as now. We can reduce waste in the cutting and at the mill at least one-third, with present as well as future profit. Preservative treatment will reduce by one-fifth the quantity of timber used in the water or in the ground. We can practically stop forest fires at a total yearly cost of one-fifth the value of the standing timber burned each year. We shall suffer for timber to meet our needs until our forests have had time to grow again, but if we act vigorously and at once, we shall escape permanent timber scarcity."

### LAND

Land is a fundamental resource. From it come our food and clothing—the basal needs of man. Upon the productivity of land will depend in the future the density of our population. If our land is allowed to deteriorate, there will be a scanty, poorly-clothed, and hungry population. The fertility of the land depends upon the depth and composition of soil. Not a half of the area of the United States is adapted to agriculture under natural conditions, but by the adoption of a wise policy of conservation, including reclamation of swamps, irrigation of arid land, and terracing of the steeper slopes, we shall add a large and important food-producing area.

The land policy of the United States was at first very liberal, for it was believed that there would be

enough land to supply every one who wanted some, for an indefinitely long period. The average cost of the additions to the public land of the United States was perhaps scarcely more than five cents per acre. For this reason it is not surprising that the government was extremely generous in disposing of its domain, which was sold as low as \$1.25 an acre and purchasers were given three years to make payment. This caused great speculation in land as many made entry with the hope of selling at a profit in less than three years. In 1862 the Homestead Act granted outright land taken up, after five years of residence, improvement and cultivation. While thousands of individuals took advantage of this act to obtain homes, many others saw in it the opportunity for huge profits. The government got \$400 for lands actually worth \$20,000. Under the Desert Land Acts of 1887-1891, lands not sufficiently watered to raise a crop without irrigation were given to any settler who could prove two years' actual residence and the production of a crop on one-fourth of its area by irrigation.

This land policy was adapted to quick settlement and rapid economic development. It did not conserve the welfare of the United States. It produced speculation and land frauds, and it favored extensive, rather than intensive, cultivation.

The area of arable land may be increased in two ways: lands with too much water may be drained;

lands with not enough water may be irrigated. The art of irrigation has been practiced for thousands of years. In 1900, one-third of the cultivated land of India was irrigated. Irrigation was carried on anciently in the United States by the Indians of the Southwest. The first modern irrigation was done by the Mormons, and the desert was made to blossom like a garden. It must not be overlooked that the Mormons were among the great conservation pioneers of the United States. Irrigation transforms almost worthless lands into lands of extraordinary value because arid lands are very rich in the minerals which feed plants. Irrigation carries these minerals to the roots of the plants and greatly stimulates their growth so that three or even five crops may be produced in a single year. More than thirteen million acres are under irrigation in the United States at the present time. Irrigation is mainly being carried on through four plans, the first being the co-operation of groups of farmers. This was the earliest method of developing irrigation and probably the largest number of existing ditches have been built by this method. Second, by the creation of irrigation districts. A group of people plan to make a certain area an irrigation district to be put to future use by the people concerned. If approved, the cost is assessed upon the land benefited and financed by bonds on the land. Third, by the Caryl Act of 1894. Co-



operation in reclamation is encouraged between nation, state, corporation and individual. Fourth, by the Reclamation Act of 1902. By this act a reclamation fund was created from the sale of public lands in the West. As a result of this legislation, the great Roosevelt Dam in Arizona was completed, irrigating more than 240,000 acres.

About 4% of the territory of the country is in swamp and marsh land, an area about equal to that of the United Kingdom of Great Britain or about double the area of the reclaimable arid land. The United States Government granted the swamp lands to the states—the total area. Practically all of this land can be reclaimed at a cost of from \$4 to \$20 an acre, by building ditches, laying tile drainage, or by following the example of Holland in building dikes and pumping the water out from the inclosed area. Two-fifths of the acres of Holland lie actually below sea level. The advantages to be expected from drainage will be an increased market value and yield of the land with the resultant benefit in food supply to the population of the country. The elimination of the mosquito pest will prevent the present \$100,000,000 loss due to malaria.

### WATER

The conservation of our water is important for three reasons: first, it is necessary to the growth of

vegetation, forests, and our food supply; second, it is needed as a source of power; third, it is essential for transportation purposes. We have already seen how effective irrigation is in stimulating vegetation in arid regions, how vitally essential and important it is, and what a mutually vital relation exists between our forests and our rivers. In order to stimulate agriculture and assist in the work of re-foresting our country, every means should be taken to conserve our water supply. The problem of the conservation of our water supply is its fullest utilization, for we know that water, once evaporated, is re-precipitated. We must rely more on water power as fuel becomes more expensive. A system of dams and reservoirs is needed to conserve water power and to hold flood water. A beginning of such a system has already been made, but it should be co-ordinated under governmental control. The National Conservation Association advocates that no more water power privileges be granted to private individuals, and many people believe that government ownership of our entire water supply must come some day.

Certain facts concerning the conservation and utilization of water power must be observed. The production and consumption are to all intents and purposes going on at the same time. It is not possible to store up the results of over-production for a time when production may be inadequate to

the demand. The three chief demands for power are, of course, for manufacturing, lighting, and transportation. If each of these could be distributed so that its needs came at a different time of the day, our problem would be simple. But this is obviously impossible. There is not only a daily fluctuation but seasonal fluctuations in the demand for power, and there is a variation in the supply of water power according to the season. Conservation of water supply is attained by the fullest utilization of existing supply. Approximately one-fifth of the total power required in this country is now supplied by water. If the water supply of this country were still more scientifically employed, a saving of millions of tons of coal per year might be effected.

In the previous chapter, the ever-increasing importance of our inland waterways was pointed out as a means of improving our transportation facilities. Their use will end freight congestion in certain sections and also reduce transportation rates.

In the words of Theodore Roosevelt: "In wasting our resources we are wronging our descendants." The states should protect life and health as a prerequisite to the efficiency and happiness of the nation. The conservation of our national resources, the foundations of our prosperity, is necessary.

## QUESTIONS

1. Summarize child labor legislation in your own state.

2. Discuss the relation of cleanliness and pure milk to infant mortality.

3. What bearing have conditions in our schools upon child labor?

4. Give a summary of minimum wage laws in the United States.

5. Give arguments for and against "equal pay for equal work."

6. Discuss two reasons for the deterioration of the soil.

7. Look up the subject of losses due to plant diseases and insects.

8. What are occupational diseases?

9. Give an account of the Anti-tuberculosis Crusade.

10. Look up the subject of labor in your state under the following headings:

Occupations.

Legislation.

Organization.







*Photo by Brown Brothers.*

**"LIFE, LIBERTY, AND THE PURSUIT OF HAPPINESS."**

## CHAPTER VIII

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# IMMIGRATION AND AMERICANIZATION

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### CAUSES

It is evident that we must make a careful study of all the phenomena connected with immigration and Americanization when we realize that under normal conditions, as many foreigners seek entrance to America annually as the total population of Philadelphia, and this swarming of aliens into our country complicates all the other problems confronting American democracy today.

This necessity was brought home most acutely on

the eve of the Great War when we were confronted with the appalling realization that our so-called "Melting Pot" was not functioning properly. The causes of immigration are not hard to find. These foreigners come to America because of a number of motives which find their origin sometimes in one, sometimes in a number of unfavorable social-economic conditions prevailing in their homeland.

The first, and probably the most apparent, condition promoting immigration is the pressure of economic necessity. Whenever there is severe distress in the Old World caused by over-population, or under-production of the necessary food, the desire to better their lot in America where, as some suppose, jobs are to be had for the asking at a wage which seems almost fabulous, operates to fill the steerage with teeming millions. Illustrations of this motive in operation are so plentiful that it is scarcely necessary to cite more than one particular instance. In 1845, owing to a failure of the potato crop in Ireland, that country suffered from a serious famine which drove a large part of its population to take passage for America. The great demand for unskilled labor in this country to perform the harder and more menial manual services has always seemed to justify the coming of the immigrant. The close relation between the economic conditions in this country and in Europe

is also shown by the fact that after a period of industrial depression here, immigration declines.

A second reason for immigration is the desire to escape intolerable political conditions at home. After an unsuccessful revolution in any foreign country, great numbers flee to this land to escape the era of repression and punishment which follows. In 1848 the growing liberalism of Germany attempted unsuccessfully to check the audacity and insolence of the Hohenzollern regime, but the knell of that preposterous anachronism had not yet sounded. Monarchism in Germany prevailed, and as a result multitudes of liberty-loving German folk fled from the land of the Spree and home of the slave to the great asylum for all oppressed peoples.

Closely related to the desire to escape from political persecution has been the wish to come to a land where no man is interfered with because of his religious belief. Millions of the Jewish population of Russia who had suffered every conceivable humiliation and indignity from a continued governmental policy of intolerance or from acute carnivals of murder and robbery, known as pogroms, found a respected and prosperous position awaiting them in the New World.

A fourth motive was that of escaping military service. In most of the European countries, as a result of the fear of aggression by more powerful

neighbors, the governments maintained huge military and naval establishments, forcing practically every male to take valuable years of his early manhood away from preparation and profitable production. With such a policy, millions were not only out of sympathy, but came to regard it as a form of intolerable tyranny, registering their protest by breaking home ties and departing for a land in which militarism never has, and, pray God, never will, find a lasting foothold.

Another factor favorable to immigration has been the ease of transit, and the practice built up by transit companies and immigration societies both here and abroad of encouraging immigration. The ocean fare has been as low as \$7.50, the food consumed during the voyage being offered at a very low rate, and the property qualification for entrance in the United States being so negligible during the greater part of our history that almost any person could beg, borrow or steal enough money to come to this country. Furthermore, in all the towns and cities of Europe there are thousands of persons who, in behalf of certain big interests, spread information of the enormous wealth of America and the ease of securing a livelihood here for the mere asking. There are agencies in America which have regular correspondence with foreign agencies and agree to care for immigrants upon their arrival. Others stimulate the



accumulation of funds which are made available to needy immigrants. Furthermore, the liberal immigration policy of the United States has been of utmost assistance in furthering the rapid growth of immigration. We needed the immigrant even more than he needed us, in order to build our cities, construct our railroads, run our machines, and perform the necessary manual labor on our farms.

### HISTORY AND EXTENT

While it is true that every man, woman, or child in America today, except the Indians, are immigrants or descendants of immigrants, an important distinction is usually drawn between that part of our population whose ancestors arrived during the building period of our country's structure and those who came after the United States government was put into operation. The history of immigration in the United States begins with the year 1820, for in that year the collectors of customs at the various seaports were ordered to make a record of the numbers, ages, and occupations of all arrivals. It has been estimated that from 1776 to 1820 about 250,000 arrived. Since 1820 about thirty-three million have come to this country. The high water mark of immigration was in 1907 when 1,285,349 foreigners sought our shores. A classification of these incomers shows that they may be assigned to two groups—from 1820 to 1883

when the countries of Northwest Europe furnished 95% of the total influx, which we may call the old immigration, and the period from 1883 to the present time when the countries of South and Southeastern Europe sent from 55% to 75% of the total immigration. To this large percentage Russia contributed the greater number of Russian Jews as a result of the promulgation of extremely intolerant legislation in 1882. In the old period Eastern Europe contributed less than 1%. The change in the racial character of immigration has given rise to many social problems which we must take up later.

In order to understand these problems, it will be advisable to give a brief summary of the racial characteristics of the immigrants from the different European countries. English immigrants have been of two widely-differing classes: One, well-educated professional and commercial men and skilled artisans, brings considerable money and contributes a worthy element to our population; the other is of a lower type and has been a burden rather than otherwise. French immigration has never been very large, but has been very desirable, as the French are characterized by intelligence, education, and thrift. German immigrants have a strong love for the homeland and have kept alive their own language and customs by means of various social organizations and by publications.

They are thrifty and industrious, bring with them a fair amount of money, assimilate readily, have taken the lead in building up many industries, and now that the incubus of the Hohenzollern regime has been removed from their own country and as the antagonisms aroused by that royal family are gradually obliterated from the mind of man, they will resume their valuable contribution to our population. More than one-half of the Jews in the United States live in the Metropolitan district of New York. About 1% are professional people, two-thirds of the remainder are skilled, and one-third unskilled, laborers. They are industrious, of superior mental ability, personally ambitious, generous, and noted for their fine family life. They contribute a splendid element in our population, but their tendency to race and religious segregation renders their assimilation imperfect. The old immigration had a very high percentage of Irish, and the females outnumbered the males. It has been said that the Irish race has been literally transplanted to the United States, for there are far more Irishmen in America than in Ireland. The names of the officials of our leading cities bear vivid testimony to the success of the race. Their death rate is high and they present many problems of dependency and delinquency.

There is a sharp differentiation between the North Italians and the South Italians who come

to this country. The North Italians have a large admixture of Teutonic blood and therefore present many of the admirable characteristics of the Northern European races. South Italians, and especially the Sicilians, are less educated and have the fiery passions of the Oriental. They do not easily learn English, are hot-tempered, and are inclined to segregate and to commit deeds of violence. The Italians are a cheerful, generous, and likable people with great capacity for good, and while they are not always assimilable, they have contributed in many ways to America's greatness.

Scandinavians come from Sweden, Norway and Denmark but their influx has declined in recent years. They assimilate readily, are anxious for good government, are splendid farmers, and their level of intelligence is high. Scandinavians practically founded the states of Minnesota, Wisconsin and the Dakotas. The Swedes are perhaps the most progressive of these people.

The map of Eastern and Southeastern Europe presents a patchwork of differing Slavic peoples, all of whom have contributed heavily to our population in the last thirty years. Within the territories of the former dual monarchy of Austria-Hungary there are Czecho-Slovaks, Poles and Jugo-Slavs, each of which divisions has numerous differing lesser groups. The Czecho-Slovaks are skilled artisans and great lovers of freedom.

They constitute a valuable element in our population, but must be educated in the ideals of American democracy. From Jugo-Slavia have come the greater number of the rougher types of manual labor. Illiteracy among such immigrants is a formidable problem. The Poles show the influence of the tragic history of their country which was the victim of the political oppression and rapacity of its neighbors for a century and a half. Under conditions of liberty in America, many have progressed rapidly in industrial and social advantages. The Slovak immigrant is perhaps the most difficult of Americanization, at least of those races which contribute any appreciable portion to our present immigrant tide. On the whole, his economic value is great, but the social problems he presents are at times disheartening. In recent years we have had a considerable influx of Greeks, Syrians, and Armenians. What has just been said about Slovak immigration would apply with even more force to these races were the numbers anywhere nearly as great. On landing, they go at once to the quarters of their fellow countrymen where congestion, disease, and poverty abound.

A study made in 1920 shows that a triangle drawn from the northwestern point of Minnesota, the southern end of Illinois, and New York City, comprising 18% of the area of the United States, contains 75% of our newer thirteen million immi-



grants. New York City has a larger Italian population than Rome or Naples, as many Austro-Hungarians as there are people in Newark, and more Jews than there are people in Philadelphia. In 1910 the total foreign-born population of New Jersey was nearly 30% of the whole; the total of foreign parentage, 56.6%. Immigrants do not flock to the southern states, which in 1910 contained only 5.4% of the total foreign-born population.

### EFFECTS OF IMMIGRATION

We may divide the effects of immigration under the headings of racial, economic, social, and political. First, the racial effects of immigration are the most permanent and powerful of all. Government, industry, and social ideas are all created by individuals, and when individuals change, these change with them. The only methods of improving the individuals in a country are by education, the segregation or elimination of the unfit already in the country, and refusal of entrance into the country of the unfit from other countries. It will thus be seen that our chief concern in attacking the immigration problem should not be the point of view of the immigrant, but the point of view of our descendants and the future of America. It is apparent that a nation of Irishmen has a tremendously different outlook on the problems of life than a nation of Jugo-Slavs. Furthermore, it can

easily be proved that an increase in immigration causes a decrease in the birth rate of native-born American stock. In fact, there is an excess of deaths over births among the native born, and the conclusion is that it is only a matter of relatively few years when the older type of American will be but a memory, and our democracy will lie entirely in the hands of those whose ancestors came from Eastern and Southeastern Europe. To sum up the effect of immigration upon the American people is to substitute for the race which founded and developed our institutions and history other races whose political experiences and sympathies are entirely at variance, and in some instances, antagonistic.

Second, the economic effects of immigration have been varied and important. Half a century ago, America was an agricultural nation. The bulk of its population lived on farms. Today it is the greatest industrial nation in the world; 51% of its population lives in cities; the capital invested in factories has quintupled, its production tripled, and its labor force doubled. "America could never have furnished its transcontinental railroads, developed its mines, operated its factories, had it not drawn upon Europe for its labor force. American industry had a place for the stolid, strong, submissive Slav. It needed the mercurial Italian. There was much coarse, rough, and heavy work to do in mining and construction camps, in tunnel and rail-

road building, around smelters and furnaces, etc., and nowhere in the world could employers get laborers so well adapted to their need as in the countries of Southeastern Europe." Wherever unskilled labor is required, we find the foreign born.

The second economic effect is on wages. Organized labor claims that "to the employer of unskilled labor this flow of aliens, many of them used to dirt floors, a vegetable diet, and child labor, and ignorant of underclothing, newspapers, and trade unions, is like a manna, for the common labor he requires is cheapened for him by the endless inflow of the neediest, meekest laborers to be found within the white race. No wonder, then, that in the forty years the American capitalist has had Aladdin's Lamp to rub, his profits from mill and steel works, packing house and glass factories have created a sensational prosperity."

A third economic effect of immigration is the padrone system. The padrone, or contractor, keeps in touch with incoming immigrants and contracts to furnish their labor to construction works. While employed, the men are compelled to rent his shacks for an exorbitant price to buy their provisions from him, and to permit him to handle all their money.

A fourth effect which is somewhat similar to that of the padrone system is the sweat shop, whose

principal evils are beggarly wages, excessive hours of labor, unsanitary conditions, and vice.

A fifth economic effect has been the displacement of great numbers of native-born workers by foreigners, and the great increase in the problem of unemployment.

The first social effect of immigration is the augmentation of the percentage of illiteracy of our country. That this was seen to be a danger was proved by the adoption of the literacy test by Congress in 1917.

A second social effect has been in relation to crime. The impression prevails that criminality is somewhat more prevalent among the foreign born and those of foreign descent than those of native descent, but as immigrants come to America at that period of life when they are most prone to deeds of crime, there is some doubt as to the relative criminality of the two elements of population. It can be shown that the native born-children of immigrants lead immigrant children in crime and are three times as criminal as the children of the native born. There is no doubt that there has been a tremendous increase in criminal thought and action affecting the political sphere in recent years which has been fomented by radical foreigners. In the early spring of 1919 the authors attended a socialistic mass meeting in New York City and saw thousands of foreign faces glow with

approval and with the lust for cruel action, as speaker after speaker denounced the Government of the United States and by inference justified acts of violence against it.

A third social effect is that upon the mental and physical health of the nation. The foreign born furnish two and one-third times their proportion of insanity and 70% of those cared for in our hospitals. Nor does this indicate the full extent of this problem, for many foreigners receive no adequate medical treatment, and they contribute a large portion of persons under-developed both in mind and body, and thus cause a serious deterioration of the physical strength of the nation.

A fourth social effect of immigration is the great increase in dependency, as there are three times as many foreign born as native paupers. It has been estimated that it costs twelve million dollars annually to care for the foreign-born poor of New York State alone, and this does not take into account children in charitable homes.

A fifth social effect has been the congestion in city life with resulting problems of vice and the slums.

Among the political effects of immigration we may note the following: first, the growth of corrupt partisan politics. The ignorant foreign-born vote has been readily captured by party organizations and corruptly manipulated to the detriment of the



public good. It has furnished the political boss with his most effective weapon. It has favored extensive graft, and prevented wholesome reform movements.

Furthermore, it has rendered necessary a profound change in the very structure of our government. In order to control the turbulent non-American elements, we have been compelled to modify many of our earlier democratic ideals and to adopt centralization of authority, which is far different in spirit from American traditions.

A third political effect has been the growth of radical theories of government, so that today American democracy is facing a life and death struggle with Marxian socialism.

#### EVILS OF CONGESTION

The evils of congestion are vice, slums, disease, bad ventilation, tenements.

The Immigration Commission investigated seven cities: New York, Philadelphia, Chicago, Boston, Buffalo, Cleveland, and Milwaukee. Each block was found to be inhabited chiefly by one particular race, and where conditions were reported to be worst, the families were studied, a total of 51,000 persons being thus questioned.

Congestion is affected by length of time in the country, owing to economic necessity, and by the

fact that immigrants are chiefly country people in cities for the first time.

Statistics of overcrowding: Immigrants, 2.99 persons per sleeping room compared with 1.93 persons native born. Immigrants, 27.2 per cent keep boarders (average) compared with 10.2 per cent native born; but certain newly-arrived races average as high as 70.3 families with boarders. Over one-third of the families have only one room for general living purposes, cooking, eating, etc.

Care of home poor: Immigrants rate on this 44.2 good, 55.8 bad; native-born, 50.6 good. Sanitary equipment is better in New York and Chicago than in Philadelphia and Cleveland.

The boarding boss arrangement: A married head of family takes in from two to twenty boarders or lodgers. He buys all the food and each boarder pays his pro rata share of the cost plus a fixed charge per month for room and service, including cooking, etc.

The company house system in mining communities provides little privacy or family life, and no cleanliness or sanitary appliances.

### IMMIGRATION LEGISLATION

In the early part of the nineteenth century there was no immigration problem, for there was no necessity of restricting immigration. Those who

did come to our stores were uniformly of assimilable races and mostly sound individuals. The first Federal legislation on the subject in 1819 provided that a ship captain should not carry more than two passengers for every five tons; that specified provisions should be carried for every passenger. The number of passengers was still further limited by the Act of 1855 to one for every two tons, and it was provided that each passenger must have a certain amount of floor space. The needs of the Civil War period led to the passage of an act to encourage immigration in 1864, which provided that the President should appoint a commissioner of immigration who should furnish an annual report to Congress. Contract labor was permitted. When the war emergency was passed, the alien contract labor made this practice illegal, but it has been hard to enforce the law and, as we have seen, many contract laborers come in through the padrone system. Immigration legislation since the Civil War has been largely of a restrictive character. The act of 1875 excluded convicts and immoral women. The act of 1882 was the first general immigration act with definite control. There were provisions concerning space, berths, ventilation, food, and hospital facilities. It provided a head tax of fifty cents to defray the costs of the Immigration Bureau. Mental and physical defectives were excluded. Other immigration bills

were passed from time to time, increasing the head tax, and proposing limitation of the number admitted to ten per cent of the nationality already here, and a simple literacy test. The literacy test proviso in different bills was vetoed by Presidents Cleveland, Taft, and Wilson, but it was passed over a second veto of President Wilson in 1917. This act also placed penalties on steamship companies that brought any of the excluded classes.

The question of whether a literacy test should be applied to immigrants to this country has had strong advocates for and against.

The arguments in favor of a literacy test are as follows:

1. There is a relation between illiteracy, crime, and poverty. Such a test will reduce these classes.
2. In a democracy, we require literate citizens. Good citizenship demands such a test.
3. A literacy test has a wholesome effect on Europe, promoting education there.
4. People oppose literacy tests solely because of selfish interest. This is unworthy.
5. Opposition is based on precedent and international law, which should not stand in the way of human rights.

The arguments against such a test are as follows:

1. Every class of immigration has actually built up the country.

2. Such a law departs from American precedent. (*Taft.*)
3. A literacy test is *not* a test of quality—it is a test of opportunity. That is what he is coming for. (*Wilson.*)
4. An illiterate can be educated in night schools, etc., thus making him a literate citizen.
5. Such a test would not shut out literate radicals.
6. A test based on religious conditions would involve us in difficulties with foreign nations.

### ORIENTAL IMMIGRATION

In years just before the Civil War, the far western states attempted to restrict Chinese immigration, but their laws were unconstitutional. In 1875 contract coolie labor immigration was forbidden, and in 1882 all immigration of Chinese laborers was suspended for ten years. In 1888 a treaty with China provided that Chinese laborers should be excluded for twenty years, but on failure of China to ratify this treaty, Congress passed a law continuing the policy of total exclusion indefinitely. This prompted the ratification of a treaty with China in 1894, limiting the term of exclusion to ten years. By further legislation in 1902 and 1904, Chinese immigration was definitely



ended. Within recent years there has been agitation against Japanese immigration. The hostile feeling of the Pacific states is evidenced by the recent California Alien Land Act, aimed directly against the holding of real property by Japanese; even their American-born children can acquire real estate only through the appointment of an American citizen as their guardian for the trusteeship.

### PROGRAMS OF RESTRICTIVE LEGISLATION

Recommendations of the Immigration Commission and others are:

1. Restriction as to quality and quantity to facilitate assimilation.
2. Slower expansion of industry permitting adaptation of existing labor supply.
3. Rigid scrutiny of rural records of immigrants to bar undesirables.
4. Deportation of aliens who at any time are convicted of crime or are paupers.
5. Forfeiture of citizenship and deportation of naturalized aliens guilty of crime.
6. Improvement of steerage conditions.
7. Protection of worthy immigrants from oppression and injustice.
8. Permission for importation of skilled contract labor where no supply exists in this country.

9. Barring of aliens who do not intend to remain permanently.
10. Limitation of members of each race per year.
11. Material increase of money required to be in possession of each immigrant on arrival.
12. Material increase of entrance head tax.
13. Barring of married aliens unaccompanied by wives.
14. Further mental tests for entry.
15. More rigid physical requirements for entry.
16. Barring of all radicals.

#### OUR IMMIGRATION POLICY

The guiding principle of all immigration legislation must be carefully defined:

The United States has a duty to perform as the haven of refuge for the oppressed; yet, have we not a higher duty to the coming generations of American citizens? The answer to this question must be dispassionately arrived at, and the public thoroughly educated to an appreciation of its seriousness and to a ready acceptance of such laws as may be needful.

As one writer has said: "The past industrial development of America points unerringly to Europe as the source whence our unskilled labor supply is to be drawn. America is in the race for

the markets of the world; its call for workers will not cease."

In the opinion of a distinguished American economist, some measures of limitation are called for at once to "improve working-class conditions where they are worst in America \* \* \* \* \* The selection of immigrants should be a part of the national policy of eugenics to improve the racial quality of the nation by checking the strains defective in respect to mentality and physical health, and by encouraging the more capable of the population to contribute in due proportion to the maintenance of a healthy, moral, and efficient population."

#### AMERICANIZATION

One of the chief problems connected with immigration which has been brought vividly to our attention by the World War is that of making the newcomers to this land, good American citizens. This was not such a problem in the early history of the immigration movement, for the early immigrants were more like the rest of our people in language, religion, and ideals of government than are the great majority of those who come today. The newcomers are mostly unskilled laborers; they are clannish. Many come to America with the intention of accumulating money rather than of becoming citizens of this republic. It is not

enough to plan to bar such newcomers, for they are already here. The problem is to prove to them that it is to their best interest to understand our institutions. "The function of the government and all other agencies interested in Americanization is to offer the opportunity, make the appeal, and inspire the desire" to such immigrants to become American citizens. "The menace to America of a large unassimilated population, especially threatening in the great cosmopolitan centers, must be removed, and the blessings of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness in this land of opportunity must be fully appreciated by ourselves and clearly understood by all who dwell among us." This result must be accomplished very largely through the instrumentality of our public school system.

The process of naturalization should be clearly understood. The foreign-born immigrant who wishes to obtain American citizenship must, if over eighteen years of age, appear before a Federal or state court, charge and declare his intention of becoming a citizen of this country, and of relinquishing his loyalty to the government of his home country. Two years after he has filed this declaration of intention called his "first papers," provided that he has been a resident of the United States at least five years, he may appear before the same court and take the oath of allegiance to the Gov-

ernment of the United States, whereupon he is granted a certificate of naturalization which entitles him to all privileges of citizenship, with the exception of eligibility for the office of President and Vice-President. The process whereby a married immigrant is naturalized automatically confers citizenship upon his wife and upon his minor children. Adult children must be naturalized by separate papers.

### QUESTIONS

1. Should aliens be compelled to become citizens after a certain number of years?
2. Should aliens who leave here be taxed heavily, so that they will not carry their earnings out of the United States?
3. What is the "Yellow Peril?"
4. Do we have a real American type?
5. What has been done in your vicinity to encourage the establishment of industries?
6. Should not the farm, as the foundation of all industries, rank first in importance, and should not the city be most keenly interested in it?
7. Is it not the duty of the citizens to encourage farms?
8. Why do people leave the farms?
9. What changes have occurred in rural life of late years that have made it more attractive?



10. How can country life be made more attractive?

11. Are not farms abandoned because parents desire to send their children to city schools and to give them more opportunities?

12. Discuss the advantages of the consolidated school.

13. Should not cities counteract the tendency to leave the country by taking more interest in the children of the rural districts and by at least doing as much for the farm, the vital industry, as they do for far less essential ones within their own borders?

14. What immigration bills were proposed in 1921?

## CHAPTER IX

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### EDUCATION

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#### HISTORICAL SURVEY

Education is today recognized as the most vital and fundamental industry of our nation. It is an absolute necessity of life to a democracy. This means that all the children of all the people in the country should be afforded every means of obtaining the fullest amount of education possible. In our survey of education as a problem of American democracy, we must show the older conception of education, the factors instrumental in changing this conception, and what policies must be adopted, or if begun, improved upon, so that education may function in maintaining and perfecting America's position as a democratic nation.

The school began as a class institution. The advantages of education were thought to be the rights of the fortunate few. Before the child can become a man in thought as well as in maturity of physical development, he must become adjusted to the spiritual and intellectual inheritances of his people. Primitive society early resolved itself into three classes: the workers, who produced; the soldiers, who protected; and the priestly class, who governed either alone or with the assistance of the soldiers. This governing class controlled the learning of the people, because only those who were learned were capable of ruling. The vision of democracy had not dawned upon the mind of man. It seemed better for this ruling class to limit the extent of educational facilities afforded to the people in order that they might safeguard their own political prestige and continue to rule as a class. Thus education was aristocratic, and the school at first a device whose sole function was to train a class by methods of memory and imitation. The earliest school, like earliest society itself, was a device for suppressing the individual and conforming him to tradition.

Among the earlier historic peoples we find that education was mainly a family or a priestly function. Among the ancient Jews, the school was a part of the religious organization, a relationship which was inherited by the schools of the Middle

Ages and has continued down until the present time to some extent. Among the Spartans, the whole organization of the state was that of a school which would give the young of both sexes training requisite for the maintenance of Spartan supremacy among her neighbors. Athenian education was dominated neither by the religious nor military class, in strong contrast to the other nations of antiquity. They first conceived that the purpose of education was to prepare for citizenship—a truly modern idea, yet not as democratic as it sounds; for while the schools of Athens were open to the children of Athenian citizens, instruction was not free. Hence, education performed an aristocratic, rather than democratic, function. The Athenians were the first people to develop certain kinds of education as a state institution. The Roman did not rise above the Greek in his conception of education. He was by no means as much interested in the philosophic or aesthetic side of education as the Greek. He believed in “learning to do by doing.” He educated for a trade or a profession by the apprenticeship custom. One distinct contribution to democratic education, however, was made by the Romans. They invented the practice of licensing teachers, thus giving the state a direct control over education. During the period of the Empire, salary schedules for teachers also were fixed by the emperors.

After the Roman Empire disintegrated, the church became the dominant ruling force in Western Europe, and again we find education a function of the priestly class. The noble conception of education as a preparation for citizenship was lost sight of because of what seemed its more vital function—the preparation for a future life, and as it seemed impossible to reach the multitude directly with the necessary education, there developed a special type of school in which young men were trained to impart religious instruction. Hence, education again became a class institution.

At the close of the Middle Ages a changing conception of education arose in some of the important commercial cities—a beginning of lay education had been made. Schools were established in these towns to train the children of the wealthier industrial classes. These were not favored by the rulers who usually feared the liberal education of the masses. This fear was slow to die. In American colonial history we find Governor Berkeley of Virginia piously thanking God that there were no free public schools in his province. The reason for this attitude is as old as the earliest class differentiation of man. The ruling class has always recognized that it can maintain itself in power over an outnumbering subject class or classes only by keeping them in ignorance.



Several factors were instrumental in changing the old conception of education. Before education could be made useful for democracy, it was necessary to reorganize its subject matter and methods. In fact, such reorganization must continually be in process for democracy is a growing thing. It constantly puts forth new branches. Its leaves must afford a cooling comfort to an ever-increasing area. The nurture for this healthy growth must come from the soil of education. Hence, education must be constantly enriched and adapted to the requirements of the time. The new education, then, began at the close of the Middle Ages with the Renaissance, or the revival of learning in Europe. It was seen that the sole function of education was not to train for the priesthood, but to train leaders for the state. This, of course, was still aristocratic, but with it went the tendency to secular or ecclesiastical control of the schools which, as Americans believe, is one essential for a free democratic public school system. The Renaissance, too, may be considered as the starting point of the Reformation and from the lips of the leaders of the Reformation came many utterances concerning education which are startlingly modern. Says Luther: "The world has need of educated men and women to the end that the men may govern the country properly and the women may properly bring up their children, care for their domestics

and direct the affairs of their households. I, by no means, approve of the schools where a child was accustomed to pass twenty or thirty years without learning anything. Another world has dawned in which things go differently. My opinion is that we must send the boys to school one or two hours a day and have them learn a trade at home for the rest of the time." The last sentence might well be an argument advanced in the New Jersey Senate during the passage of our Continuation School Law which was put in operation in September, 1920.

The invention of the printing press was a tremendous factor in promoting the modern conception of education, inasmuch as it rendered the means of education accessible to the masses. The action revived the idea that the school might be used by the state as a means of defense, which is truly a modern conception of education. This theory was not concerned with the needs of the individual. It looked only to the well-being of the state. Hence, it conserved monarchy and aristocracy quite as much as it did democracy. This ideal was not clearly perceived in England where the idea still prevailed that it was not the duty of the state to provide education; but on the Continent in such countries as Prussia, for example, the ruler readily saw the value of education as a civic function.

When the English colonists first came to America, they brought with them the English attitude toward the school as a private or church institution for which the state was not responsible, and it prevailed for a long time in the Middle and Southern colonies.

The Puritans, however, because their civic institutions were wholly in the control of the church, as early as 1647 required each town that had a certain population to establish a school. From this law has come our school system of today; yet it had to traverse a long and stony road to reach even the moderate degree of efficiency that it has now attained. Interest in education had to hurdle a most baffling series of barriers, such as shifting and scattered population, the defects of communication, the urgent practical necessities of pioneer life, the decay of old ideals, the desolation of wars, the struggle for political liberty, the general indifference of the people, the lack of educational organization, and the unwillingness to provide in any adequate fashion for efficiently equipped school plants, and above all, of properly qualified and adequately compensated teachers, which unfortunately has still to be overcome.

#### THE IDEALS OF DEMOCRATIC EDUCATION

At the beginning of every problem of democracy we find that two things must always be kept in

mind: the rights of the individual and the rights of the nation as a whole. Germany believed that the individual existed for the state; America believes that the state exists for the individual. This feeling has at times obscured the sense of social responsibility in Americans. We have had too much of the attitude that asks the question, "What are we going to get out of such and such a thing?" Our first educational ideal, then, is to impress the importance of the welfare of society; we must ask, "What can I contribute to society, not what can I take from it?" This can only be attained through voluntary individual co-operation. It is the endeavor to form those character traits which will promote social co-operation. Among these traits are: fitness for companionship, tolerance and sympathy for the viewpoint of the other fellow, responsibility and a strong sense of duty, the spirit of fair play and of justice, initiative and freedom of thought rather than servility or docility.

#### THE SCHOOL AS A CONSERVATIVE AGENCY

Closely allied to the conservation problem already studied, is the view of the school as a protective agency. It is the remedy for the problems of child labor, preventable disease, and social pathology. The school has to consider the health of the community. Children must be taught hygienic living, and a closer contact with home con-

ditions must be established by the school. Physical training is not merely recreation—it must be educational from a social point of view. School athletics have their social dangers as well as their social advantages. Open air schools, medical and dental inspection, and school lunches are truly democratic and to be encouraged.

Several things are essential to a good system of inspection:

- (1). Each child examined on entrance to school and record started.
- (2). Daily examination of all children physically below par.
- (3). Re-examination on return to school.
- (4). Routine examination of condition of scalp, eyes, ears, teeth, nose, and throat.
- (5). School physicians—to examine children and supervise sanitary arrangements.
- (6). The school physician should be subject to superintendent of schools.
- (7). Co-operation with community hospitals, clinics, and charities.

#### PRESENT PROBLEMS IN DEMOCRATIC EDUCATION

The school has to contend with many disadvantages which operate to hinder it in creating a democratic environment for itself. The present development of machine industry has made necessary specialization. Not only is it impossible for



one individual to gain even a rough mastery of the mechanical and scientific processes by means of which he earns his living, but even to understand all the economic and social relationships brought about by the improvement of communication and transportation. He can attempt to learn the bare facts about a very few things only. As a result, our population tends to form separate groups, each with its own interests, ambitions, and class feelings. This group consciousness is felt in the schools. Each group insists upon the greater relative importance of its needs, and upon provision by the schools for those needs. To yield to such a demand would be to destroy the democratic environment of the school, yet not to give it thoughtful consideration would be to undermine the efficiency of the school as a means of counteracting the undermining influence in relation to democracy which group consciousness exerts. The schools also have to contend with the influence of the home, the street, the playground, the movies, newspapers, and cheap magazines. It must take the child coming from a group-conscious home and make him feel his responsible relationship to other group-conscious homes of different types. It must also take the child coming from the home which is lacking in a sense of social responsibility and fit him for his part as a responsible member of society. It must seek to obtain a directing influence in the play-

ground. It is forced to compete on terms of unequal interest with the commercial movie which too often brazenly seeks to counteract years of patient inculcation of high ideals, and with the vulgarity and sensualism of, unfortunately, the majority of our newspapers and magazines. It seems almost impossible to maintain high democratic ideals in the schools against the insidious non-democratic ideals prevailing so extensively outside of the school

### ILLITERACY

Universal education must be guaranteed. In 1916 only 75% of the children of school age of this country was in attendance. While the Scandinavian countries have reduced their illiterates almost down to the infants and feeble-minded, the percentage of illiteracy in this country is a national disgrace. Ten per cent of the young men accepted for army service were illiterate and about 25% of the American Force in France were found to be virtually illiterate, that is, they could not get the meaning of an ordinary paragraph in a newspaper or write so as to be read. The causes of the conditions back of this shocking revelation are not hard to find: first, the lack of uniform state legislation on compulsory education; second, lack of enforcement of existing laws; third, public indifference to the importance of education; fourth,

unattractiveness and impracticability of courses of study, and failure to provide stimulating teachers because of niggardly salary policy; fifth, the former failure to impose a literacy test on immigration, and the great volume of this class of immigrants, amounting in some cases to 75% of the newcomers, and the rapidly increasing congestion of illiterate immigrants in our great cities to such a point that our educational facilities are choked. Beginning with 1914 the United States Bureau of Immigration has sent the names of alien children of school age to the school authorities in those communities to which such children were going. By similar measures the illiteracy among our recent immigrants may be reduced. But only by arousing the public to the necessity of universal education can the problem of illiteracy in the country as a whole be successfully mastered.

#### EQUALIZATION OF EDUCATIONAL OPPORTUNITIES

Educational opportunities must be equalized. There is at present too great a variation in time of schooling, quality of teaching, and equipment of schools. These factors operate to prevent full democracy in education; for, they create privileges for some and deny them to others. It has been proposed that as a minimum, all children between the ages of 7 and 14 must have at least 24 weeks of schooling in each year. To us in New Jersey this

seems a ridiculously low minimum, but it would mark a distinct progress over conditions in many of the states today. Quality of teaching can be improved only by increasing the pay of teachers in the public schools. Our wages should be fully as high as the wages paid to men and women of equal native ability, education, special preparation, and experience, doing other work requiring as much time, energy, and devotion, and involving approximately as much responsibility. The average salary of the adult worker in 1920 was about \$1,250 a year. On this basis our teachers should receive an average minimum salary of not less than \$2,000 a year. In 1918 the salaries of all high and elementary school teachers and principals averaged \$635 a year. One state paid its teachers in the rural elementary schools less than it spent to feed and clothe its prisoners in its jails. Furthermore, as Mr. Claxton, U. S. Commissioner of Education, points out, "We should give increased financial support to the state normal schools, the institutions in which young men and women are trained for the teaching profession. At present, the normal schools are supplying only about 20% of our new teachers. The others come into the schools with little or no technical training for their work. We are now spending some twenty million dollars a year for the support of our normal schools. We should spend three or four times that amount."

It is not democratic if the children in one section have poorer school buildings than those in another, or if the wealthier citizens can make better use of existing educational facilities than the children of the poor for any reason whatsoever. The majority of the school population in the United States lives in rural districts where there are often not only poorly paid and poorly trained teachers, but where there is inadequate equipment. An attempt to correct these conditions has resulted in the establishment of township schools and in the practice of transporting at public cost the children of outlying districts to the larger and better equipped schools in neighboring cities. The advantages of the township school over the "little old red school-house" are obvious. Notwithstanding the veneration given to the one-room district school which unquestionably has trained thousands of useful men and women, it cannot compete with the large graded, well-equipped school with its specially trained teachers and its system of transportation of school children at public cost. The present schooling afforded the blind, deaf, and mental defectives is a great improvement over old conditions, but as in the case of every modern humanitarian program, insufficient appropriations are made even in the best school systems to care adequately for these classes, while in the more backward communities no appropriations are made at all.



## DEMOCRACY IN EDUCATION

One modern method of securing a greater vision of democracy through the schools is attained through pupil self-government. This gives the student something to do and something to think about in a way which is not obviously controlled by some superior force. This is building the democratic instinct in him in the most useful manner, while a healthy amount of stress is put on that which must not be done. Greater emphasis is given the ideal that certain qualities and kinds of conduct are for his own good and the good of the school, primarily, and for the pleasure of the teachers, incidentally. The duties of student officials, the machinery of their election and the drawing-up of necessary regulations and laws constantly afford the pupils something definite to do. Student self-government may be very informal or a highly organized plan, such as that of the school republic or the school city. After all, the organization is of less importance than the right kind of results; namely: the formation of good school spirit, and the right kind of an attitude of the problems toward the welfare of the school.

## DEMOCRATIC GOVERNMENT OF SCHOOLS

Schools are monarchies; they should be democracies. Pupils must learn that they have a public

duty in the school community. Not pupil government, but pupil participation in government is desirable.

*Principles of such participation are:*

- (1). Control by all, for all.
- (2). Avoidance of military control by elected representatives.
- (3). Avoidance of elaborate machinery.
- (4). Plan must be slowly built up.
- (5). Students must be prepared for each step.
- (6). Teacher must always be *at* the throttle, even if his hand is not *on* the throttle.

*The results to be aimed at in pupil participation in school government are:*

- (1). Change in attitude of pupil toward authority.
- (2). Change in attitude of pupil toward unsocial conduct.
- (3). Change in attitude of pupil toward exposing unsocial conduct.
- (4). Creation of a democratic spirit in the school.

*The difficulties in the way of pupil participation are:*

- (1). Educators are overburdened now and cannot take on the additional responsibilities thereby entailed.

- (2). Known failures of attempts at this program deter others from adopting it, although it can be easily shown that the failure was not due to inherent weaknesses of the plan, but to various other factors such as politics, waste of time, faulty judgment, haste, etc.

But democracy in education is not to be secured solely by pupil participation in school government. There must also be a certain proportion of teacher participation in school administration. This is an exceedingly difficult thing to introduce. The fact is evident that most school systems are run as autocracies, benevolent despotisms usually, but no less autocratic. The child in such a system cannot fail to be influenced by it. He in turn acquires the traditional servile attitude toward authority, and thus becomes an impossible subject for any socializing process.

#### REORGANIZATION OF EDUCATION

The work of the schools beyond the elementary grades has, until within a few years, been more concerned with the subjects taught in the Middle Ages than with subjects immediately related to the practical needs of today. When the higher schools were attended only by the few, an academic education seemed sufficient. Recently, however, it has come to be generally accepted that the legitimate

purpose of the public school system is to train for practical life in the trades, industries, commercial activities, home-making, and agriculture. With the disappearance of the apprenticeship system, the incidental learning of a trade must be supplanted and supplemented by a thorough system of vocational training. As a basis of vocational guidance, the course of study must give a broad conception of everything which makes life worth living. In other words, it must prevent the domination of purely materialistic ideals. In some cities we find a voluntary organization of teachers aiding deserving students to secure employment during vacations and out-of-school hours in order to earn a part of their support; to advise those who are ready to leave school in the choice of a vocation, and how to fit themselves best for it. In Boston, a system of co-operation between the schools and a municipal vocational bureau has been established:

“1. To study the causes of the waste in the passing of unguided and untrained young people from school to work, and to assist in experiments to prevent this waste.

“2. To help parents, teachers, children, and others in the problems of thoughtfully choosing, preparing for, and advancing in, a chosen life-work.

“3. To work out programs of co-operation between the schools and the occupations, for the pur-

pose of enabling both to make a more socially profitable use of talents and opportunities.

"4. To publish vocational studies from the point of view of their educational and other efficiency requirements, and of their career-building possibilities.

"5. To conduct a training course for qualified men and women who desire to prepare themselves for vocational-guidance service in the public-school system, philanthropic institutions, and in business establishments.

"6. To maintain a clearing-house of information dealing with career problems." (Bloomfield—Youth, School, and Vocation, p. 39.)

Vocational guidance must take into account what the prospective worker likes to do, what he can probably do well, and what he may reasonably expect to succeed at. Newark has a definite plan of vocational training.

#### THE VOCATIONALIZED COURSE OF STUDY

There must be greater liberality in entrance requirements on the part of the colleges, who are slow to give recognition to the socializing tendency in education. Science is socialized, its branches are being more closely related to the everyday life of man, and a differentiation is made in its treatment for the two sexes. In history, the movement is characterized by the changing emphasis on periods



and the adoption of the topical or phasal historic method. History, leaving her old time mate, pure literature, joins with the other social sciences in a polyform marriage. In literature or English, less time is given to critical analysis and more to actual constructive work along usable everyday business forms.

The entire emphasis of the modernized course of study is on social efficiency, not on intellectual Brahminism. A great expansion of student activities is going on at the same time that a greater group co-ordination is attempted, and the principle of team-work *between* activities supplements team-work *in* activities.

## MODEL VOCATIONAL ANALYSIS

### I.

#### A. PERSONAL DATA

- |                               |              |
|-------------------------------|--------------|
| 1. NAME                       | 2. AGE       |
| 3. HOME ADDRESS               |              |
| 4. HEALTH                     |              |
| 5. Physique                   | 6. Weight    |
| 7. Height                     | 8. Endurance |
| 9. Nervous                    | 10. Eye      |
|                               | 11. Ear      |
| 12. Physical defects          |              |
| 13. Serious illnesses in life |              |
| 14. General appearance        |              |

## PARENTS

15. Where born
16. Living
17. Health
18. Nationality
19. Occupations

## II.

## B. EDUCATIONAL DATA

Time in school

Schools attended

Graduations

If not, why not

Best subject

Poorest subject

Memory

Quick to learn

Quick to forget

Calculates

Quickly

Accurately

Reads much

Slowly

Rapidly

What

Fine arts appreciation

Manual arts

Music

Appreciation

Drawing

Skill

Languages

Extent

Variety

## III.

HOBBY

GAMES

AMUSEMENTS

COMPANIONS

## IV.

## PREVIOUS VOCATIONAL DATA

Where

What

How long

Reason for leaving

Wages

## VOCATIONAL QUALITIES

Work well with associates

Work well with direction

Leadership

Patience

Greatest success in what

Greatest vocation ambition

By the New Jersey Continuation School Law in effect September, 1920, all children between the ages of 14 and 16 who receive working papers are compelled to attend school each week for at least 6 hours of day-school school work. The Federal Government has encouraged vocational training by the Smith-Hughes Act which was passed February, 1917. This provides for a Federal Board for Vocation Education which consists of a committee of citizens representing each of the sections

of Agriculture, Labor, Commerce, and of course the Commissioner of Education. The principal aim of this Board is to promote vocational education in co-operation with the states, and to administer Federal aid granted the states under the law. The money used for the salaries of teachers and teacher training must be appropriated by the states as a whole or locally, the amount thus appropriated equaling the Federal aid.

Somewhat related to its function of vocational guidance, is the school's activity as a selective agency of those young people who are to obtain higher education. This process, or rather three-fold process, consists of selection by retardation, selection by acceleration, and selection by elimination. Some children can't keep up the pace. They either are retarded in school age or else drop out entirely. Others, more capable, can adopt a skip-stop journey through the grades.

Retardation increases by grades, but is decreasing throughout the country as a whole in recent years. To what extent this latter fact is due to a greater pressure of public opinion in favor of promotions at any cost is hard to determine. Retardation is costly, both in money and effectiveness. It can be reduced by a reorganization of subject matter and method, and by eliminating the undertrained teacher.

Acceleration is as helpful as retardation and

elimination are harmful. Teachers and administrators are prone to look with suspicion on acceleration. This is an error. We are too ready to set up an idol of formalism and try to compel others to bow down and worship. The child who has perfect mastery of the work of his grade should be encouraged to try the work of the next higher grade. There is no mystic number of years in the educational process.

The relation between the problem of selection and democracy seems to be antagonistic. By their processes, many are called but few are chosen for the greatest educational advantages. This is undemocratic, of course, but it is inevitable. Our problem is to standardize our processes of selection so as to minimize retardation and elimination, and to further acceleration. Keep the poor child in school on as favorable terms as possible; insure his not being held back, by adopting better teaching, better methods, and a course of study more adapted to his needs and environment; reduce his time in school by acceleration, if possible, so as to fit him earlier to grapple with life's perplexities.

Considerable controversy was aroused by the introduction of the Towner-Sterling Bill. This bill creates a department of education with a secretary in the President's cabinet; it provides appropriations of one hundred million dollars annually for the combating of illiteracy, the Americaniza-



tion of foreign-born, the development of a program of physical education, the training of teachers, and the equalization of educational opportunity. It appropriates, also, five hundred thousand dollars for research to be undertaken by the department. Its purposes are: first, to bring about an efficient administration of the nation's participation in education; and second, to stimulate the states to undertake certain educational programs which are demanded in the light of our present social and educational situation. There are in Washington today more than 40 bureaus, divisions, etc., promoting education, which often work at cross purposes and duplicate each other's functions. Those in favor of the bill urge that national support of education is necessary because, educated in one state, people will live during their productive lives in all states of the Union, and that equality of opportunity and education is essential to soundness and uniformity of governmental policy. The bill was supported by the National Education Association, the General Federation of Women's Clubs, the American Federation of Labor, the National League of Women Voters, and many other organizations. It was opposed on the ground that it did not go far enough, and that it would tend to bring too much red tape into education. It is, perhaps, not generally known that a Department of Education was established in this coun-

try in 1867 but was abolished within two years and its functions transferred to a Bureau of the Department of the Interior. The United States is the only great nation which has not given education a position of full equality with the other great executive departments.

The British Parliament, during the most serious days of the Great War, reorganized the entire educational system of England. The law tremendously increased the national appropriation for educational purposes, lengthened the period of compulsory attendance at school, and established technical and vocational education on a magnificently thorough basis. Since the establishment of the republic, Germany has undertaken a complete reorganization of her educational system. German education was always closely supervised by the government. Hereafter, however, it will be for the purpose of strengthening the republican regime and not for the perpetuation of class distinction and monarchical theory.

Our own government should adopt a program of Federal educational activity including:

- (1). The study and definition of the educational needs of the nation in industrial, commercial, political, and social organization, with a view toward reorganization of courses of study.

- (2). The furtherance of teacher training.

(3). The securing of adequate salaries for teachers.

(4). The promotion of educational relationships between the systems of our own and those of other countries.

The welfare of democracy depends upon the quantity and quality of all four types of education namely, physical, vocational, social, and cultural. Sparta specialized in the physical principally. The result was that she never contributed anything of lasting importance to the civilization of the world. Too great emphasis on vocational education leads a nation into gross materialism and to a deterioration in intellectual and moral qualities. Yet, as we have seen, a democracy must have the physical and vocational types of education sanely developed. Cultural education was earliest developed in America because it was recognized that culture was the force which set the ruling class off as a group, apart from the common mob. For every American felt himself a ruler and wished to secure for his children, if possible, the same type of culture which the children of the aristocracy had. The school as a social institution may be conceived as a means of control through the transmission of tradition and culture, and through the training of leaders. It is seen as a means of national defense and a source of national prosperity, and finally as an

instrument, and possibly the most effective instrument, of social reform. Education in this country must adjust the school to changing social conditions so as to make of it an institution which will face the future rather than the past. Education is both a cause and a result of democracy; it is responsible to it. Only through education is a sense of civic morality and civic responsibility possible.

### QUESTIONS

1. Does your school give any training for a vocation?

2. Show the relation between illiteracy and poverty.

3. How much should the state require of a child in the way of an education before allowing him to leave school?

4. What are the salaries paid teachers in the various grades in the schools of your community? Compare these with remunerations of other professions.

5. Explain the organization of a "school city."

6. Discuss the question of what you have learned from the movies.

7. Look up the history of the education of the blind and deaf in this country.

8. Consider whether the course of study in your school faces the future or the past.

9. Compare the subjects and methods found in the schools today with those in the schools your parents attended.

10. What is a Junior College? Give the arguments in favor of municipal institutions of higher learning.

11. Why "pupil participation in school government" rather than "pupil government?"



## CHAPTER X

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# POLITICAL PROBLEMS OF DEMOCRACY

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(FORTHCOMING)

### EFFECTS OF INVENTION AND DEVELOPMENT

What a wonderful place is a home!—and yet, how few of us stop to think about it at all. It is planned for the happiness, comfort and convenience of real, living people. These homes may vary in size, structure, and general plan; but, for the most part, contain the conveniences which our present civilization demands. The heating, lighting, facilities for bathing, laundry work, cooking—all have kept pace with the evolution of that civilization. Invention, industrial progress, and commercial genius have lightened the labors of women and reduced the “chores”

of men in the home. To light our houses we no longer must make candles, clean and fill lamps, or even strike a match, but merely press a button and our house is all aglow. If we live in a part of the country where winter is a recognized season, we are not compelled to suffer from the doubtful heating of a fireplace, or to have a stove in each room. A furnace in one part of the building can carry by means of pipes an equal amount of heat to all rooms. And in our larger cities heat may be purchased from some outside agency as is our light and water. Woman's work in the home has been so reduced that now she is free to take a larger part in the industrial, commercial, educational, and political fields. Her entrance into some of these fields has given rise to many vital problems.

In the cities water is supplied to all the houses at a nominal charge. The town-pump and the "old oaken bucket" are relics which only our elders remember. The subway, elevated, and steam railway and motor bus have replaced the stage coach, the hack, and the horsecar. The telephone and telegraph systems have forced the personal messenger, mounted or afoot, into folklore songs and tales. The town crier has given way to the organized police system, and the volunteer bucket squad to the paid municipal fire department. The narrow, dirt streets of a

century ago are now avenues and boulevards, municipally constructed, lighted, cleaned, and repaired. All sewage and garbage is also disposed of by the municipality.

The farm, too, has kept pace. Invention of labor-saving machinery has added to the farmer's physical efficiency. The scientific study of agriculture and animal husbandry has improved the methods, enlarged the crop, added new products, and secured a more profitable breed of live stock. This study has been encouraged by the Federal and state governments, by giving individual attention to all farmers who apply for such aid, by subsidizing agricultural schools and colleges, and by legislation designed to reduce farm tenantry. Thus the economic condition of the farmer has improved. Owing to the advent of improved roads, transportation service, both steam and motor, and also the telephone, the opportunity for educational and social development of the rural dweller has been greatly enhanced.

Our national area is many times greater and our population has increased by leaps and bounds since the birth of the nation. This increase of population has been due to a favorable birth-rate among the native-born and also to immigration. The United States has grown from a mere strip of coast line, with an agrarian population, endured as a nation rather than recognized, to a

power whose frontiers border two oceans, whose commerce carries its products to the markets of the world, and the development of whose resources compels the respect of all nations. Now many nations look upon our progress with fear; others call upon our organizing genius for help; and many more for material aid. Thus has our nation grown, not only in stature but in understanding. This tremendous growth has necessitated a huge volume of social and protective legislation, and has increased the need for Federal and state control of industry, commerce, and transportation.

It has also caused a tendency toward the abandonment of the strict separation of powers between different branches of government and between the Federal and the state governments: A division of responsibility which very often causes confusion, and delays the adjustment of matters of pressing importance. It has also resulted in the enhanced importance of the Federal Government which now deals with many problems which the makers of the Constitution would perhaps have reserved to the state governments. The Constitution was drawn up for a nation whose entire population was less than that of New York City today, and for a society mainly agricultural, with no railroads, telegraphs, tenement houses, and no power factories. While the framers of this document

wrought wisely, they could not foresee the tremendous changes resulting from an industrial revolution, which in their own day was just beginning. Many of the members of the Constitutional Convention were aristocratic in their ideas and displayed a distrust of pure democracy. According to Woodrow Wilson, "The Federal Government was not by intention a democratic government. In plan and structure it had been meant to check the sweep and power of popular majorities. The Senate, it was believed, would be a stronghold of conservatism, if not of aristocracy and wealth. The President, it was expected, would be the choice of representative men acting in the electoral college, and not of the people. The Federal Judiciary was looked to, with its virtually permanent membership, to hold the entire structure of national politics in nice balance against all disturbing influences, whether of popular impulse or of official overbearance. Only in the House of Representatives were the people to be accorded an immediate audience and a direct means of making their will effective in affairs. The Government had, in fact, been originated upon the initiative and primarily in the interest of the mercantile and wealthy classes."

Greater democracy has been attained partly through Constitutional amendment, partly by the introduction of more democratic political methods,



and very largely through the broader construction of the "elastic clause" in the Constitution, Article 1, Section 8, which says: "Congress shall have power to provide for the general welfare of the United States."

### EXTENSION OF SUFFRAGE

Suffrage is a state affair, since the right to vote is granted by state law. Formerly, this right was restricted to those holding a certain amount of property, and until recently, to men. Gradually, political parties bid for popular support by broadening the franchise of the people and further concessions grew. By the fifteenth amendment which declared "that the right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by either state or nation on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude," negroes in the Southern states were made potential voters. Several Southern states have practically nullified this amendment by the passage of so-called "grandfather" and "veteran" clauses in their suffrage laws. The "grandfather" clause grants the right to vote to all, black or white, who could vote in 1866 and to their direct descendants. The "veteran" clause grants the vote to all who served in any war of the United States. These laws passed not long after the Civil War effectually barred the negro from voting.

The greatest advance in suffrage was accomplished with the ratification of the woman's suffrage amendment. It should not be forgotten that the success of a democracy depends not so much on the number as on the quality of its voters, and that democratic institutions, be they ever so perfect in form, will fail to function well if incapably managed. We need a more intelligent vote in this country, and it is a wholesome sign that this need is today more widely recognized than ever before. In this connection we note that women have formed leagues for the express purpose of educating their sex, and incidentally men as well, on the great issues of the present time.

#### THE SPOILS SYSTEM VS. THE MERIT SYSTEM

A significant reform in our governmental system was accomplished when the merit system was introduced into our Civil Service in place of the spoils system. By the merit system is meant the selection of government officials on the basis of their fitness for the position, whereas under the spoils system the practice was to select them because of their loyalty and service to a particular political party or leader. "To the victor belong the spoils," was proclaimed as a fundamental political policy during the administration of President Andrew Jackson. The argument in favor of the spoils system was that it was a means of

education in popular government, since it gave a greater number of persons an acquaintance, even though brief, with official duties. According to this point of view, it was not a misfortune if the personnel of our public offices was frequently changed, because such changes constantly introduced more of our citizens to the duties of government. On the other hand, the system led to bad appointments and rendered public welfare subordinate to partisan activities.

The competitive or merit system with fixed tenure of office is wiser and productive of better results. Civil Service reform was promoted vigorously in the early eighties by a National Civil Service League, and in 1883 the Pendleton Act provided for classified Civil Service examinations to determine appointments. But the "Spoils Men," as the opponents of Civil Service reform were called, vigorously fought the enforcement of this law. President Harrison made Theodore Roosevelt chairman of the Civil Service Commission and he gave this Commission new life and power. Since that time, the classified Service has been several times extended to take in many offices, but there are still traces of the spoils system in our public life. The Federal laws have been copied by most of the states, both in state and municipal affairs. While considerable progress has been made in checking the evils which prevailed under

the unrestricted spoils system, there are critics of the Civil Service system of today who point out that the examinations are an inefficient test of a man's capacity for public office. High ideals of public service are necessary. The public servant must be convinced that a public office is a public trust, and not an opportunity for getting a comfortable living without working for it.

### DIRECT DEMOCRACY

One way in which our national and state governments can become more democratic is by the substitution of direct democracy for representative democracy where the latter has not served the people's will. Our country is, of course, fundamentally a representative democracy, and because of its area and population it would be utterly impossible for all citizens to exert direct political power in all matters. We select certain of our number to draw up our laws and carry on the business of government for us. Frequent elections afford an opportunity for us to approve or disapprove of their actions, and a powerful influence is exerted by means of the newspapers, public meetings, and petitions. From the latter have developed certain practices of direct democracy, such as the initiative, the referendum, and the plebiscite. The initiative law permits a certain number of voters either to draw up a legislative bill or petition the legisla-

ture to pass a law on a specific subject and submit it to popular vote. The referendum law either compels a legislature to submit certain kinds of laws to popular vote or requires this to be done only if a certain number of voters petition for it. The plebiscite is the submission of a certain question to popular vote to test out public opinion on the policy of the government; but this does not necessarily bind the government. These have not been used by the Federal Government, but various state constitutions embody them.

The advantages of such direct measures are as follows: first, the people may compel a legislature to act on a measure reflecting the wishes of the community, but opposed by the members of the legislature; second, they awaken public sentiment and stimulate interest in government. Many believe that the disadvantages outweigh the advantages. Voters take little interest in such elections; the referendum destroys the sense of responsibility of legislators; and, furthermore, it is almost impossible to draw up complicated laws in such a form that a simple "yes" or "no" will show the real popular will.

Opponents of direct legislation cite Oregon as an example of its evil effects. They specify that in 1910 eleven constitutional amendments and twenty-one proposed laws were submitted to the people; that the proposed changes, with arguments



for and against, filled two hundred and eight pages of the Publicity Pamphlet, which the state, under the system, sends out to reach registered voters; that the ballot itself was so large that it was "like voting a bed-quilt;" that it was clearly possible for only a very few voters to familiarize themselves with so many measures; that the percentage of voters expressing an opinion on some of the measures was only a little more than sixty per cent of the number voting for governor, and that the number expressing an intelligent choice was far less; that some of the measures were loosely drawn; and that the constitution is being recklessly and dangerously changed by such procedure.

Those favoring the Oregon system acknowledge these defects, but believe the defects can be remedied. They deny that the people have usurped the authority of the legislature, and point to the fact that the nine laws passed in 1910 were less than one-thirtieth of the number enacted by the corresponding session of the legislature. They argue that government in the past had not been truly representative because not responsive to public opinion, and that through direct legislation they have secured a number of needed laws and constitutional amendments which interest-controlled legislatures had refused to grant. They deny that such legislation is more carelessly drawn than laws passed by the legislature, a large number of

which are hastily jammed through at the close of a session without receiving the necessary consideration. They assert that laws secured through the initiative have the great advantage of being drawn by friends, men who really desire to see it work and not to kill the effects. They assert further that the system helps to obtain non-partisan measures; that it tends to concentrate attention on measures rather than men; and that, instead of decreasing interest in public affairs, the system has exactly the opposite tendency and that its educational effect cannot fail to have desirable results in the future. They point triumphantly to the fact that seekers after special privileges and all corrupt interests are unanimously opposed to the plan.

It is true that the use of the new devices has an educational effect. Though some voters will grumble and many will not familiarize themselves with the issues, where voters are permitted to pass on measures intimately affecting their own interests a much larger number will undoubtedly follow public affairs than will do so under the ordinary system. Every additional citizen having an intelligent interest in public affairs means better government in the future. That the citizen need not trouble himself about public business except on election days is an error chiefly responsible for misgovernment. The cure for the ills of democracy is more democracy. Like a bodily function, the

civic sense develops by exercise and atrophies from disuse.

Good government, like any other result, can only be obtained by intelligence and hard work. When Americans learn this fact, our government will become better. Too heavy a task should not be laid on the citizen. The system of direct legislation must be so restricted that the voter will not have to pass on too many measures, else he will shirk the task. The great mass of legislation must be left to the legislature, for undoubtedly such work can generally be better done by picked men devoting their whole attention to the subject than by the whole citizen body. The initiative should be resorted to only when the legislature refuses to enact really necessary laws; while the existence of the recall tends to bring members to a keener sense of duty. We ought to elect better legislators, and, some think, fewer of them. Our legislatures and the national House of Representatives have become unwieldly for efficient deliberative work.

By the adoption of these and other changes in our government, the electorate has become practically a fourth department of government. Standing back of the ordinary executive, legislative, and judicial organs, it exercises political powers, varying in different states, but tending to become more extensive as political ability increases. It exercises executive powers in electing officers of admin-

istration, law-making representatives, and judges; it shares in legislation through the initiative and referendum; it takes part in judicial decisions by means of jury service. In some states it has a deciding voice in the drafting of the constitution, thus determining the fundamental organization of the state. At the same time restrictions on the extent of the electorate, once numerous, are being removed, this process making it coincide more and more with the politically capable population of the states.

An underlying principle somewhat similar to the initiative and referendum is the "recall," which means that a certain percentage of voters on petition can force any public official to stand for reelection again at any time in opposition to some new candidate. The advantages claimed for such an election is that it permits the voters to concentrate their attention upon the one official. The "recall" is opposed on the ground that it entails the expense of too frequent elections and that a political machine can remove from office a man who refused to do their corrupt bidding. The opponents of the "recall" are especially bitter in denouncing it when applied to judges. Says President Nicholas Murray Butler:

"The principle of the recall when applied to the judiciary, however, is much more than a piece of stupid folly. It is an outrage of the first magni-

tude! It is said: 'Are not the judges the servants of the people? Do not the people choose them directly or indirectly, and should not the people be able to terminate their service at will?' To these questions I answer flatly, No! The judges stand in a wholly different relation to the people from executive and legislative officials. The judges are primarily the servants not of the people, but the law."

"The judge," says Congressman Samuel W. McCall, "in order to feel secure in his office, would have to consult the popular omens rather than the sources of the law. Instead of looking to the drift of authorities, he would be likely to study the direction of the popular winds. If in some judicial district a strong labor union or a great corporation should hold the balance of political power, the courts in that district would be likely to become mere instruments of oppression."

Those who favor the judicial recall reply that democratic government is a misnomer for any form of government in which the majority cannot rule. Obviously they cannot rule if their will can be thwarted by a practically irremovable judge who is out of sympathy with the people. As for a judge watching the direction of the popular winds, would that not be preferable to his watching the crooking finger of a boss? The "recall" is merely impeachment simplified and made more direct and work-



able. It will not be frequently invoked, but will be especially valuable for its deterrent effect. When the hour of need does come, the weapon will be ready.

### ELECTION REFORM

The early methods of voting were not democratic. The voter appeared at the polling place and stated by word of mouth how he wished his vote to be recorded and this was put down by the judges of the election. It will be seen that this practice placed the voter at the mercy of the judges of the election, and as they frequently might be representatives of his employer, he was compelled to vote as he thought would please them. So this system was abolished and printed ballots were provided. But this did not prevent the control by the manufacturer of the vote of his workmen. "Agents of employers were known to hand ballots to employees and see them safely deposited in the boxes. Black lists were sometimes kept by which refractory voters were dropped from the factory payrolls. Bribery also flourished. There existed a purchasable vote which was as willing to sell itself as the purchaser was willing to buy." By 1888 these abuses were so glaringly evident that a demand for reform arose, and the "Australian ballot" was introduced. This system originated in Australia but has been adopted by many other

countries. It provides for a large printed form on which are tabulated all candidates for office at a given election. The voter steps into a booth screened from observation and marks with a cross the names of the candidates for which he wishes to vote, folds his ballot, and deposits it himself in the ballot box. This does away with intimidation but not entirely with corruption. Much discussion has arisen concerning the form of this ballot. The "Massachusetts ballot" has columns for the offices to be filled, the names of the candidates being arranged thereunder alphabetically. The other form is known as the "party column ballot." In this the candidates for office are arranged in columns according to their parties. It is claimed that the "party column ballot" does not require as much intelligence upon the part of the voters, while it does tend to strengthen party influence. On some "party column ballots" a cross written in a certain circle or square under the party emblem indicates that the voter records his vote for all the candidates of that party. By this plan the ignorant voter can be made a useful tool of party organizations.

Another device for improving our elections is the preferential ballot. The voter is given the opportunity to indicate his first, second, and third choices for any office. In the count of votes if any candidate has a majority of all first choices, he is elected.

If no one has such a majority, the first and second choices are added together, and if anyone then has a majority, he is elected. But if there is still no majority, the number of third choice votes are added to the sum of first and second choice votes given any man for an office, and the candidate receiving a plurality of all votes is elected. By this device the majority may not get, any more than now, just the man they most want, but they are sure, as they are not at present, to get a man of the general kind they want and not to get any man whom they positively don't want.

A further change in election methods has been accomplished by the substitution of primary elections for the old system of party convention nominations. The party organization is composed of the committees and conventions that formulate the policies and put forth the standard bearers of the party. Each party has a national committee and committees in each state, congressional district, county, city, ward, and township. These committees are made up of party workers, who, taken together, form the party machine. The delegates to these conventions are elected either by smaller convention groups or by the voters of that particular party in the state. This is done in connection with the national convention. When elected by the party voters, it is called a presidential preferential primary. The New Jersey preferential

primary law provides that delegates to the national convention shall be elected by the voters of the party and may be pledged to support a particular candidate for the presidential nomination. The delegates are elected from each congressional district, but four are also elected for the state at large. To counteract the dominance of the party machine, the system of primary elections under state control has been devised. Originally the party meeting at which candidates were nominated was not under state control, but it was shown that conventions were often run by professional politicians who made up "slates" and "deals" and prevented the ordinary party voter from having any say in selecting the candidates of his party. Before the general election, a preliminary election is held at which the voters of the various political parties register their choice of candidates within their own party. Under a system of primary election, every candidate should be required to announce his own platform briefly, so that the voter may know for what principles he is expressing his choice. The primary system has not been entirely successful. The machine may bring forth a number of names of respectable candidates to divide the reform vote while sending the word along to their henchmen to vote for their own pet candidate. The primary system also causes factional jealousy in the party, and prevents effective organization

work. Indeed, many persons urge the substitution of nomination by petition for any form of primary election. If a certain number of voters sign a petition for a nomination of a certain person, that person's name goes on the official ballot. This measure of course is bitterly opposed by all party organization.

There is an opportunity for democratic reform in the drawing up of party platforms. At present they are drawn up by the Committee on Resolutions which is composed of one representative selected by each of the state delegations. Such a committee is necessarily composed of "organization" men and in the drafting of the platform it is more concerned with the effect of that platform upon the success of the party at the polls than it is with the general effect upon the country as a whole of the planks included therein. In consequence, the platform when finally adopted may be extremely vague or even entirely silent on the most vital problems before the country at the time. It has been proposed that this would be overcome by adopting a plan of permitting the voters of the party within the state to indicate what questions they wish discussed in the platform and their attitude on these questions. This would seem to be in line with democratic progress.

It has already been pointed out that corruption in elections has seriously impaired their democracy.



Under our elaborate and complicated system of party organization, few but wealthy men can stand the expense of running for office. At every election each of the great parties accuses the other of creating tremendous "slush" funds to be used in election propaganda, if not in actual purchase of votes. This evil is attacked by the so-called "corrupt practices laws" which prescribe the amount of and purposes for which money may be spent in connection with elections, and set heavy penalties for violation. Yet it has been the opinion of careful students of the subject that these laws have been largely dead letters owing to the difficulty of enforcement. Bribery is extremely difficult to prove and usually but two persons, the bribe-giver and the bribe-taker, know when it is committed and each has the strongest motive for concealing the crime. Then, too, public sentiment is not sufficiently loyal to reformers who attempt to battle with political corruption and of course the reformer has to encounter the organized conspiracy on the part of corrupt politicians and venal newspapers. Reform of ourselves or of our own town is neither pleasant nor popular. It is so easy to let matters drift along and to allow old abuses to remain fixed. The way of the crusader for clean politics is beset with powerful and insidious enemies.

A further step toward democracy advocated by

many is the direct election of the President of the United States. When the Constitution was framed, it was provided that the President be elected by a body of electors chosen in each state in the manner ordered by the state legislature. Each state has as many electors as it has representatives and senators. Each party designates a group of electors in each state who are voted for on the day of the general presidential election. On the second Monday in January thereafter, the electors who were chosen in November assemble at their respective state capitals and cast ballots for President and Vice-President. The candidates having the vote of a majority of all the electors in the country are declared elected. This scheme was devised under the impression that the average voter didn't have the knowledge necessary to express his direct choice for president, and that these electors would be the most intelligent and representative men of their respective states; but the scheme has failed. The electors have become merely "rubber stamps." When they cast their vote, the President has already been elected. It has even happened that party managers have secured a majority electoral vote which was contrary to the popular majority. In 1876 Hayes was elected over Tilden, although Tilden had the popular plurality; and, in 1888, Harrison received sixty-five more electoral votes than Cleveland,

while Cleveland had nearly 100,000 more popular votes. This was clearly undemocratic, and many people believe that the electoral college should be abolished and the President and the Vice-President be elected by direct vote of the people just as senators and representatives are now chosen.

### CHANGES IN MUNICIPAL GOVERNMENT

We have seen how our municipal government was at first a direct democracy operating through the New England town meetings. In mass meeting all freemen decided what laws and public works were necessary; they assessed the taxes, and chose the necessary officials. When the population became so large that it was impossible to continue this procedure, the aldermanic system was adopted. In some cities the general form of the national government was followed, in that there were two houses in the city council: the board of aldermen and the common council, both having to concur in all legislation. These bodies managed directly all municipal affairs, but as time went on, it was found necessary to separate administrative from legislative functions. Accordingly, various municipal departments were created whose members were usually appointed by the mayor.

This system did not prove entirely satisfactory as it divided responsibility and curtailed efficiency. To overcome this difficulty the commission form of

government was invented. Instead of electing one or two aldermen from each ward, the voters chose three or five commissioners from the city at large and gave to this commission all legislative and administrative power and responsibility. This system works very successfully in some cities. A further modification of the city government is known as the city manager system, which involves the employment of a successfully-trained and well-paid administrative head to carry on the business of government exactly as the manager of a private corporation would handle its business. This plan is intended to put municipal affairs on a business foundation by choosing the mayor on his record of experience and efficiency rather than in accordance with partisan affiliations.

#### GOVERNMENT FINANCE

A budget is a plan for estimating the expenses and income of a government for a definite time, and should show in what departments savings can be effected, or in which an increase of expenditure is necessary. It is usually prepared by the executive and presented for the approval of the legislative. The estimates are prepared after reports are made by various departmental officers on the needs of their respective departments. The English system is a model one. It has all of the expenditures on one page. On the page opposite are all

the sources of income. Thus, every item in the finances is clearly shown, the income on one page, the purposes for which this income is used on the other. Thus can be seen at a glance, the amount of the debt or deficit of each department, and exactly how great a sum must be raised in the following year. One reason why our Liberty Bonds depreciated was that the Government did not make any definite provision as to how the bonds were to be met. In the English system this could not have taken place, for when the government borrows money or issues bonds, it makes a definite plan for the retirement of the debt.

Various states have adopted budget systems, but they are very imperfect. An estimate of expenses is made, but no definite statement of exactly how the preceding budget was expended. The same criticism applies to our city budgets, which explains why various departments have huge unexpended balances or unexpected deficits. In New York State the governor makes a budget, the state comptroller makes another, and the legislature a third, none of which is official. Each is a source of tremendous expense for compiling, printing, etc.

There is a pressing need for a Federal budget. Various attempts have been made to enact such a law, but all have failed, partly because of politics and partly because of defective planning of the law. There also has been too little co-operation



between the President and his cabinet on the one hand, and Congress on the other.

New functions of government undertaken by cities have necessitated additional funds in an ever-increasing circle of demands. Hence, have arisen the needs of new methods of municipal taxation. The methods adopted by the Federal Government to finance the war, especially the luxury taxes, may well be copied by municipalities in the future. An admission tax on moving picture entertainments could very easily be made to finance a broad and constructive school program. If the people expect the government to render greater services in the future, they must be willing to pay the costs. Many cities are in a critical position today, since they have reached the limits allowed by law for property taxation. Only by the adoption of other forms of taxation such as that suggested above can these cities avoid bankruptcy.

#### DEMOCRACY AND RESPONSIBLE LEADERSHIP

Responsible leadership is essential in a democracy. By this we mean that we need men and women in public life who have the capacity and the training necessary to fit them for determining public policies and for educating the people up to an understanding of the needs of the hour. It must be responsible because an irresponsible leadership is entirely hostile to the spirit of democracy.

Some believe that the Continental or English system of cabinet or ministerial government is better adapted to produce responsible leadership than the American presidential system.

Under the cabinet system, the man who can command the greatest support or control the largest number of votes in the popular house of the legislature becomes the nation's leader or premier. This prime minister associates with himself in office a group of assistants which, taken together, is called the cabinet or ministry. The ministry is both a legislative and an executive committee, as it frames legislation of national importance for submission to the national legislature and sees to the execution of all laws, and carries on the administration generally. Its members remain members of the legislature and are entitled to speak and vote in that body. When no longer able to command the legislative vote, the prime minister must either go "to the country," that is, call for a general election of members of that body in order to determine whether he or it rightly interprets the will of the people. If the candidates who support him are defeated, he must resign and permit the leader of the opposition to form a new cabinet. In our government there is not this correlation between executive and legislative departments. While it does not seem feasible to transform our cabinet into a true ministry, greater responsibil-

ity could be attained by setting the custom of allowing our cabinet officers the privileges of the floor of Congress to present the needs of their respective departments and to argue for them. This would also lead to a more intelligent handling of legislative matters.

#### MODERN PHASES OF THE REPRESENTATIVE IDEA

We have noted how the American cabinet differed from the English cabinet. There is as great a fundamental difference between the English and the American systems of representation. By the English system every member of Parliament, while elected by the people of some particular constituency, feels that he represents the entire British people in Parliament, whereas a member of Congress feels particularly bound to the constituency which elected him, and the idea that he is a representative of the entire American people is either secondary or lost sight of entirely. The English system may work better in questions affecting the welfare of the people as a whole, but the American system unquestionably is more democratic, inasmuch as our representatives are more responsible to public opinion. There are two conflicting theories in this country as to the function of the representative. These theories can be explained in the form of the following questions: Is the representative selected by the people to give

legislative expression to their thoughts and their will, or is he selected by the people to act for the people?

Hughes once said that "democracy on a large scale would immediately fail were not the people to act through their personal representatives. It is only upon simple and broad propositions of policy that the people can act directly. It is difficult to procure a complete understanding, even by those charged with its consideration, of any complicated measure." Mr. Bryan holds that "the legislator who thinks he is chosen to think for his people may flatter his vanity, but he is apt to be indifferent to the wishes of those for whom he speaks. The one who believes that the people think for themselves and select him to give expression to their thoughts is apt to have a more modest opinion of himself, but a greater respect for those for whom he acts."

The difficulty with this point of view is that men are tremendously lacking in interest and unable to come to any conclusion concerning most public questions. They also are too prone to accept the comments of their favorite newspaper on any political program without looking for the underlying motives for such an attitude. The relation between a representative and his constituency should be like that existing in business between the owner and the management. The manager, if worthy of the job, will have a free

hand in all ordinary affairs of the business and probably will be the strongest factor in determining its policy. If the people exercise care in selecting their representatives, they can well afford to trust his judgment on important decisions and should avoid offering negative criticism or poorly considered advice. This principle should be consistently adhered to in order to make our representative government function efficiently.

### QUESTIONS

1. List the rights guaranteed by the Constitution of the United States. What new economic and social rights do we speak of today?

2. Are the people of the United States more or less individualistic than those of most other countries? Explain your answer.

3. What devices of direct democracy have been adopted in your state?

4. What form of ballot is used in elections in your state?

5. Illustrate the evils and the advantages of each type of municipal government in reference to particular cities.

6. How do you account for the fact that there is so much delay in introducing the budget system into government finance?



7. Summarize the provisions of the Inter-State Commerce Act, the Sherman Anti-Trust Law, the Clayton Anti-Trust Law.

8. "State regulation of industry will afford each citizen a better opportunity of promoting his own welfare." Discuss.

9. Give the arguments against direct democracy.

10. What standards should be aimed at in every reform of our political institutions?

## CHAPTER XI

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# THE PROBLEM OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

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### ORIGIN OF INTERNATIONAL LAW

From the beginning of the history of organized states, there were international relationships such as those arising from commercial dealings. Such

relationships are of great value. They tend to promote mutual understanding. Each nation in such a relationship benefits from the friendly rivalry which develops with its neighbors. Each also is the gainer by the knowledge it derives from the other. The great increase in social progress since the Renaissance and the time of geographical discovery can be largely attributed to the rivalry of modern nations which necessitates the sharpening of all the physical, intellectual, and moral powers in order to maintain their place in the sun. It is to the interest of civilization that nations should watch each other carefully and not permit one to obtain unjust advantages over others. It is also important that this be done in a spirit of mutual friendship and understanding. Thus has come about the necessity for international law.

The name international law suggests, perhaps, a great number of laws laid down by some international tribunal or law-making body for the purpose of regulating the intercourse between nations. There is, however, as yet, no universally recognized permanent international legislature. An international law is merely a collection of international agreements, conventions, treaties, decisions rendered by temporary tribunals appointed to arbitrate matters of grave international importance, and usages and practices which have become legal by general assent. These rules are quite

definite and describe at some length regulations for carrying on war, defining the rights of neutrals, specifying who are combatants and who are non-combatants. They also lay down general principles for lawful intercourse among nations at peace. What constitutes a nation? When are rebellious states to be recognized as independent nations? These and many more like and equally important questions are answered by international law. Their enforcement rests, at present, on public opinion among nations as a whole. It will be seen that no one nation should attempt to lay down new principles of international law for other nations without their consent, as did Germany during the Great War.

The factors in the development of international law are many and varied. First, we may note the expansion of industry, commerce, trade, transportation, and intercommunication; second, the diffusion of knowledge because of books and travel; third, the establishment of embassies for carrying on political relations, and consulates for carrying on commercial relations between countries; fourth, the making of treaties which formally sanction developed usages or establish new principles. The stages in the development of international law may be classified under two general headings, the early period and the modern period, the early period extending from earliest international re-

lationships to the middle of the seventeenth century and the modern period from that time to the present day. In the early period there was an universal recognition of international right and wrong common to all nations and all eras, with one notable exception occurring during the Renaissance in Italy, when a writer named Machiavelli attempted to lay down the extraordinary principle that a nation should not be governed by any moral considerations in its dealings with others, but should be guided solely by considerations of selfish advancement at the expense of others. We have seen in recent years an attempt to return to this principle. The modern period began with the work of Hugo Grotius, a learned Dutch lawyer, whose epoch-making book "Concerning the Law of War and Peace," laid down the fundamental principles of international obligation. During this period may be observed two tendencies in the development of international law: first, to organize existing ideas with no regard to ethics; and second, to construct a system which shall be ethical. The second tendency is more enlightened and seems more desirable because of an increasing necessity for international economic control, and because of the conflict between international peace and the rights of nationality.



## MACHINERY FOR FOREIGN RELATIONS

The elements of our own governmental machinery for foreign relations are: the President, the Secretary of State, the Senate, Committee on Foreign Affairs, and the Diplomatic and Commercial Services. The President controls our foreign policy subject to a certain amount of oversight by the Senate. He has the power to appoint ambassadors and foreign ministers, subject to confirmation by the Senate, and to receive representatives of other countries. He may order our warships into foreign waters to protect our citizens. He may make treaties by and with the advice and consent of the Senate or executive agreements without the consent of the Senate. Much of the correspondence in connection with our foreign policy is carried on by the Secretary of State who draws up instructions for our foreign representatives and keeps in constant touch with them. He often personally negotiates and frames treaties. The Senate has a standing committee on foreign affairs which is charged with keeping informed on all matters of our foreign policy. As we have already noted, the Senate shares with the President in appointing representatives and in negotiating treaties.

The Diplomatic Service consists of those appointed by the President to represent us in foreign

countries in political matters. Five grades in this service are noted: (1) ambassadors, stationed in the more important countries; (2) ministers, stationed in less important countries; (3) charges d'affaires, temporary ambassadors or ministers; (4) envoys extraordinary and ministers plenipotentiary, who are given special and extraordinary powers to carry through unusual negotiations; (5) special commissioners, differing from ministers plenipotentiary in that they are not given full power to act on their own discretion, but are charged with carrying out special instructions as in the negotiating of definite treaty terms.

The Commercial Service has a three-fold duty. The representatives in this service are concerned with the movement of trade. They must exercise certain judicial and legal functions in respect to commercial law and are called upon to stand for the country in various social capacities. Four grades are distinguished: first, consuls-general, stationed in the leading foreign capitals or commercial centers, whose first duty is to oversee the work of all the consuls in that country and, at the same time, possibly perform the labors of a consul in that city; second, the consuls, stationed in other commercial cities and ports of foreign countries to represent American business interests; third, vice-consuls, whose duties are to supplement those of the consul; and fourth, consular agents, who per-

form consular duties for this country at irregular times, or in places where we have no regularly established consulate. Diplomatic agents are entitled to certain rights and immunities. They are free from interference or arrest while in the performance of their duties, and their offices, known as legations or consulates, are considered under American laws, to afford them the same protection as they would enjoy on American soil.

### AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY

It should be a matter of pride for us to learn that the United States has had an extremely important influence on the development of the international law. At the outset our influence was practically zero. We were a struggling nation with little aid to offer others, and too weak to seize a share of any spoils which might be thus gained. In the treaties made during the early period of our career as a nation we made few demands and accepted what was given. The greater nations knew our weakness and almost seemed to take delight in bullying us, searching our ships, impressing our seamen, and confiscating our merchandise on the high seas. In 1793, Washington found it necessary to define a policy of neutrality. International ideas of neutrality up to that time had been extremely vague. Little European princelets sold the services of mercenary troops in wars against a neighboring

state, at the same time professing neutrality and a friendship with that state. Washington's proclamation defined conduct, friendly and impartial, towards belligerent powers, and these regulations have since been generally recognized. America also has constantly advocated the freedom of the seas and fought two wars in which this principle was at issue—the War of 1812 with Great Britain and the Great War with Germany. In the third place we have advocated the “open door” policy in the Far East by which is meant the denial to any nation of the right to monopolize commercial privileges. Fourth, we have shared with England in the development of the principle of the protection of citizens while in foreign countries. Fifth, America furnishes the bases for laws governing land and naval warfare. During the Civil War the necessity arose for a code of instructions for the government of our armies, and Professor Francis Lieber, a noted authority on law in this country, at the request of Secretary of War Stanton, drew up rules which were approved by the army officials and made a general order of the War Department. These rules have been accepted by other nations. Sixth, the United States has been foremost in the development of peaceful methods of settling international disputes. As President Harding said in his Inaugural Address: “We are ready to associate ourselves with the nations of the world, great and small, for

counsel, to seek the expressed views of world opinion, to recommend a way to approximate disarmament and relieve the crushing burdens of military and naval establishments. We would gladly join in that expressed conscience of progress which seeks to clarify and write the laws of international relationship, and establish a world court for the disposition of such justiciable questions as nations are agreed to submit thereto."

It has seemed to some that our foreign policy should be one of isolation and non-intervention. Washington in 1796 said: "Europe has interests which to us have none or a very remote relation. Hence, it is unwise to implicate ourselves in her politics, friendships, or enmities." Jefferson in 1823 said: "It is fundamental for the United States never to take an active part in European quarrels." Monroe in 1824 said: "We have no concern in the wars of Europe or their causes. With existing colonies of any European power we have not interfered and shall not interfere." Secretary Day in 1898 said: "The rule of this government is absolute impartiality in respect to questions arising between its neighbors." Yet the Spanish-American War was a direct reversal of Monroe's dictum concerning the existing colonies of any European power, and the changing tendency in respect to isolation may be illustrated in the words of two great American Presidents, absolutely



opposed in political principles. Roosevelt in 1904 said: "Ordinarily it is wiser to concern ourselves at home than to try to better conditions in other nations. Nevertheless, there are some times when we must at least show our disapproval of their deeds and our sympathy with those who suffer from them." And in recent years, Wilson stated: "Neutrality is no longer desirable where the peace of the world and the freedom of its peoples are involved. We are at the beginning of an age in which it will be insisted that the same standards of conduct shall be observed among nations that are observed among the individuals of civilized states."

The principle of foreign policy dearest to the hearts of most American citizens is the Monroe Doctrine. Before Napoleon put his brother on the throne of Spain, there had long been a discontent in the Spanish-American colonies that only waited an opportunity to burst out into open rebellion. They refused to recognize the Bonapartist rule, still professing loyalty to the Bourbon King of Spain who had been deposed by Napoleon. But when Napoleon was defeated and the Bourbons restored, these Spanish-American colonies had tasted the joys of independence and were unwilling to submit again to the yoke of a king, hence they formed federal republics on the model of the United States. The reactionary European monarchs at the Congress of Verona, deciding that they would

use all their efforts to put an end to the system of representative government in Europe and to prevent its introduction elsewhere, seemed about to intervene in the dispute between Spain and her former colonies, and, in return for sending troops over to destroy the independence of the fledgling republics, to claim portions of American soil from Spain.

Furthermore, the Czar of Russia had proclaimed the exclusive right of a Russian company to territory as far south as the fifty-first parallel. This company had established a trading post in what is now California, and the danger of Russian occupation of our entire Pacific Coast was imminent. A concerted drive by European nations for further appropriation of American soil was threatened. However, England declined to co-operate and proposed joint action by the United States and Great Britain. Realizing that Great Britain was influenced by her own permanent interests in South American trade, that therefore co-operation was not essential, and that the adoption of a "go-it-alone" policy would be more useful to America in checking the ambitions of the Czar, President Monroe outlined his famous policy in a message to Congress in 1823. The Monroe Doctrine was an American doctrine directed as much against English as against Continental aggression. It contains two principles: one having to do with the new world,

and the other with the old. "In the wars of European powers, in matters relating to themselves, we have never taken any part, nor does it comport with our policy so to do. It is only when our rights are invaded or seriously menaced that we resent injuries or make preparation for our defense. With the movements in this hemisphere, we are of necessity more intimately connected, and by causes which must be obvious to all enlightened and impartial observers. The political system of the allied powers is essentially different in this race from that of America. We owe it, therefore, to candor and to the amicable relations existing between the United States and those powers, to declare that we should consider any attempt on their part to extend their system to any portion of this hemisphere, as dangerous to our peace and safety. \* \* \* \* \* With the governments who have declared their independence and maintained it, and whose independence we have on great consideration and on just principles acknowledged, we could not view any interposition for the purpose of oppressing them, or control in any other manner their destiny by any European power, in any other light than as a manifestation of an unfriendly disposition toward the United States."

There have been many occasions in later history on which this doctrine has been further interpreted. Secretary Seward applied the "Golden

Rule" to it in 1864: "Every individual state is bound to do unto all other states what it expects those states to do unto itself." During the administration of President Cleveland, a dispute arose between Great Britain and Venezuela over the boundary line of that country and the British colony of Guiana. At the British threat of armed intervention, Secretary Olney announced "that the safety and welfare of the United States are concerned with the maintenance of the independence of every American state as against any European power as to justify and require the interposition of the United States whenever that independence is endangered. Today the United States is practically sovereign on this continent." During Roosevelt's administration, at the threat of Germany to collect a debt from Venezuela, he compelled Germany to arbitrate the question. At the same time, he pointed out that the maintenance of the Monroe Doctrine should be extended to the entire world. "The nations should with one accord adopt Monroe's Doctrine as the doctrine of the world." This principle was incorporated in the Covenant of the League of Nations. Another clause of the Covenant expressly recognizes the Monroe Doctrine as a part of international law, which is worthy of attention because up to that time the Monroe Doctrine had not been recognized formally by any European power. In fact, Lord

Salisbury, one time premier of England, said: "No nation, however powerful, is able to insert into international law a principle which has not since been accepted by any other country."

Another principle for which America has always contended is the rights of small nations. In 1864, Secretary Seward declared "that nations are equal in their independence and sovereignty." In 1902 Señor Drago, the Argentine Minister to the United States, stated: "All states, whatever be the force at their disposal, are entities in law, perfectly equal one to another, and mutually entitled to the same consideration and respect." In January, 1917, Woodrow Wilson declared, "That no nation should seek to extend its polity over any other nation, but every people should be left free, unhindered, unthreatened, the little along with the great and powerful."

#### ARBITRATION AND THE PEACE MOVEMENT

There are three classes of thinkers concerning war: those who glorify it; those who deplore it, yet concede its necessity; and those who deplore it and deny its necessity. Germany, as a nation, has been educated into the first class. A great German historian, named Treitschke, taught that wars are terrible to the individual, but necessary to the true life of the state. He speaks of the moral majesty and sanctity of war, which God shall



always cause to return as a terrible medicine for the human race. He argued that the establishment of an international court of arbitration as a permanent institution is irreconcilable with the nature of the state.

To the second group belong most of the statesmen of modern times in Europe and America. The extreme wing of the third group are termed "pacifists." Members of this group regard war between nations as brutal and senseless, as duals between individuals are now regarded. It has been said that a nation should be too proud to fight, and that, as in the case of an individual, if struck on one cheek, the other cheek also should be turned. Unquestionably, there is a movement to translate humanity's new concept of righteousness, justice, and hatred of war into a program which shall make war impossible in the future. This movement is by no means new.

The ideal of international peace has been urged by prominent philosophers and statesmen in many lands and on many occasions. During the last century, international congresses have been held which may be considered as steps in the direction of the regulation and extinction of war. In 1856 at the close of the Crimean War, the European Congress adopted at Paris a declaration abolishing privateering, laid down rules on the capture of ships and of goods at sea, and defined what con-

stituted a legal blockade. In 1864 a Congress at Geneva adopted a convention for the better care of the wounded, from which was made possible the successful development of the Red Cross. In 1874 a Congress at Brussels issued a declaration concerning the laws of land warfare, which, however, was never ratified by the principal powers. Germany had by a series of wars just established herself as an empire and a period of suspicion and militarism followed which lasted for a quarter of a century. During this period only minor special conferences were held which dealt with urgent questions, such as international postal agreements or financial arrangements. In 1898 the then young Czar of Russia, Nicholas II, issued a call for a peace conference to put an end to incessant armaments and to provide the means of warding off the calamities which were threatening the old world. This conference met at the Hague in 1899 and dealt with the limitation of armaments, with proposals to change the laws of war on sea and land, and with the peaceful settlement of international disputes, but Germany refused to agree to limitation, just as she had rejected the proposal of the United States for compulsory arbitration before a permanent court. At the second Hague conference in 1907 America again proposed compulsory arbitration on all questions in which vital interests were at stake. Germany interposed that vital

interests could not be defined, and therefore again refused to agree. The conference provided first, a third meeting within eight years (which, of course, the Great War prevented); second, substituted arbitration for war in the collection of debts; third, established a prize court to safeguard neutrals; and fourth, paved the way for a court of arbitration.

### A LEAGUE OF NATIONS FOR PEACE

In 1910 in his address before the Nobel Prize Committee at Christiana, Norway, Theodore Roosevelt, having shown that the chief obstacles in the way of peace lay in the lack of any executive power to enforce the decrees of the Hague Tribunal, said: "All civilized powers which are able and willing to furnish and to use force when force is required to back up righteousness, and only the civilized powers who possess virile manliness of character and a willingness to accept risk and labor when necessary to the performance of duty are entitled to be considered in the matter, should join to create an international tribunal and provide rules in accordance with which that tribunal should act. These rules would have to accept the *status quo* at some given period, for the endeavor to redress all historical wrongs would throw us back into chaos. They would lay down the rule that the territorial integrity of each nation is inviolate.

Then, and most important, the nations should severally guarantee to use their entire military force, if necessary, against any nation which defied the decrees of the tribunal or which violated any of the rights which in the rules it was expressly stipulated should be reserved to the several nations, the right to their territorial integrity and the like. If it is a Utopia, it is a Utopia of a very practical kind."

The fundamental idea of this proposal by Theodore Roosevelt was incorporated in the Covenant of the League of Nations drafted by leading statesmen at the close of the Great War. Because of misunderstanding, suspicion, fear, partisanship, selfishness, and a mistaken idea of American rights and duties it was for the time being made impossible for America to join this League. Even those who honestly wanted an international association for safeguarding peaceful world relations, strangely joined hands with interests and individuals who for sinister reasons were opposed to peace arrangements of any kind, and as a result, the United States at the beginning of Harding's administration had apparently abandoned the position which she took in the Hague conference and appeared to many to have become as dangerous to the peace of the world as Germany had been at former conferences. Undoubtedly, America will soon discover a method of joining her sister nations without surrendering her independence as a sovereign state.

Indeed, many believe that the Washington Conference for the Limitation of Armaments was a step in this direction.

### QUESTIONS

1. Show how each of the factors in the development of international law functioned.

2. Show why a policy of national isolation is no longer possible.

3. Look up the law of contraband.

4. Show how Germany in 1914 prevented the peaceful arbitration of the quarrel between Austria and Serbia.

5. Tabulate the rights of nations for which the United States made war.

6. Study the Covenant of the League of Nations and outline in your notebooks its chief provisions for keeping peace.

7. Read Article 10 and give the arguments for and against this article.

8. Look up in current periodicals and report on the business transacted by the League of Nations, its present membership, and its status.

9. Look up the views of Taft, Hoover, Hughes, Wilson, Lodge, and Hiram Johnson concerning the League of Nations.







By courtesy of the "New York Sun."

QUERY: ARE ALL MEN "CREATED EQUAL"?

## CHAPTER XII

### PROBLEM OF SOCIAL PATHOLOGY

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• WINES—REFORMATION AND PUNISHMENT.  
TAYLOR—THE MAN BEHIND THE BARS.  
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(FORTHCOMING)

#### INTRODUCTION

In treating this group of problems of American democracy, we have adopted a term borrowed from

medicine. Pathology is a study of the science of disease. Social pathology is a study of the ills prevalent in the complex life of today. As the study of physical illness is necessary before a physician can hope to secure sound physical health, for a similar reason American citizens cannot take steps to cure the ills which they find affect society until they have a broader and more definite knowledge of social pathology. For the purpose of discussion we recognize four sub-groups: first, pathology of condition; second, pathology of conduct; third, pathology of the mind; and fourth, pathology of the senses. Persons who show evidences of a pathological state along these lines are termed respectively: dependents, delinquents, and defectives. The inter-relation between these classes is a startling fact. The children of paupers frequently become criminals; the children of criminals frequently are feeble-minded or insane. As Dr. Smith points out: "Social pathology would be a gloomy study if its accurate knowledge of facts and principles did not indicate pathways out of social difficulties which will lead to a discovery of the means by which the social causes of disease can be removed and the weak individual be socially re-enforced," or even restored to a normal condition. A normal person is one who lives on the level of the ideals of his group in society.

The problem of social pathology is studied not

to familiarize students with unpleasant things of life, but to furnish a program of necessary social reform so that American democracy may be conserved and strengthened with greater intelligence in the future. Society in the past made the mistake of treating these pathological conditions as something shameful and unfit for public discussion. The absurdity of such an attitude toward these matters which are sapping the very life blood of every civilized state today is as great as would be a similar policy of silence or indifference toward the spread of epidemics of contagious diseases. In fact, the policy should be the same regarding each of these groups of deteriorating phenomena. Poverty, Crime, Insanity, and Feeble-mindedness can most surely be banished from the world if the causes of these conditions are intelligently studied and measures taken by society to put an end to these causes.

### PATHOLOGY OF CONDITION

A pathology of condition exists when a human being lacks the necessities of life. We sometimes use the terms poverty and pauperism interchangeably, but this is inaccurate. There is no disgrace attaching to the condition of being poor, but the term pauper carries with it a social stigma. It seems to imply a character defect in the individual who is in that condition. We usually find other



pathological conditions in the case of such an individual. He may also be a physical or mental defective. Another term used in connection with pathology of condition is dependency. This implies that the poor person or pauper has to depend on the community for a part or all of his living. The causes of dependency may be personal, social, or environmental. The personal generally are due to heredity, disease, age, vice, or indolence. It will be seen that they are inherent in the person himself.

There is a constant dispute going on between those who believe in heredity and those who believe in environment as of the greatest importance in shaping the life of the individual. Those who believe that heredity is of chief importance point out the fact that mental defects are passed on from generation to generation. They also would argue that other social pathological conditions are very largely inherited. Most writers, however, regard heredity as of very little significance in causing dependency or poverty except in the case of those mentally defective. Disease and vice affect the physical stamina and thus render the individual incapable of productive work to a greater or less degree. Unable to produce enough to maintain himself, he is forced to look to society for assistance. Age is an important factor in causing poverty. The very young or the very old are alike unable to

support themselves. In the case of the aged it is not enough to say that man should make provision for his old age during his period of greatest productive power, for under present economic conditions it is impossible for a man to give to his family the necessities of life and at the same time make any considerable provision for old age. Indolence is an altogether too frequent cause of poverty.

In the second group of causes we find unemployment, low wages, industrial crises, governmental defects, and unwise charity. Unemployment is one of the commonest of social phenomena. The New York Charity Organization Society reported not long ago that about a half of all who apply for assistance need work more than material aid. Unemployment is a great waste of the economic resources of the country and leads to the physical and moral deterioration of the one unemployed. According to Hobson, "modern life has no more tragical figure than the gaunt, hungry laborer wandering about the crowded centers of industry and wealth begging in vain for permission to share in that industry and to contribute to that wealth, asking in return not the comforts and luxuries of civilized life, but the rough food and shelter for himself and family, which would be practically assured him in the rudest form of savage society." Unemployment increases greatly at times of industrial crises. An economist has given us a

graphic illustration of how society passes through a series of industrial periods. At a certain period, times are good, prices rise, new enterprises are started, bank credits are increased. Then at the very height of this period of prosperity something, perhaps a mere whisper, happens to interrupt confidence, the banks restrict their credits, and this restriction causes a general feeling of insecurity. Business declines, and some enterprises, unable to meet their obligations, fail. This leads to a general fear. Creditors ask for payment and debtors are forced to sacrifice securities at a loss, and as a result all values fall; business practically stops, and we have what is called a panic. A more or less long continued period of depression follows, with chronic unemployment and low wages, and business has to revive slowly to another period of good times.

Low wages are the result of several factors. If there is a large number of unemployed men in the labor market, they will tend to bid against each other for employment and thus lower the level of wages. Employers, desirous of cutting down expenses of operation either in order to compete on favorable terms with others in the same industry or to increase their own profits, are prone to cut wages. One economist formulated what is known as the Iron Law of Wages; namely, that wages tend to remain at the bare level of subsistence.

When wages remain at this level, unemployment and poverty are also common; but when they go below this level, dependency is inevitable and widespread.

Governmental defects also may lead to an increase in dependency. Wasteful government expenditures, entailing excessive taxation, put a burden around the necks of its citizens which is too heavy in some cases for them to bear. The dominance of government by monopoly interests, creating special privileges to some and denying them to others, has greatly intensified the problem of dependency. At the doors of unwise charity can be laid considerable blame for pauperism. The indiscriminate handing out of money on the street and of food at the back door makes pauperism and never cures it. Even distribution of food, coal, and clothing by public or private agencies frequently causes more harm than good. In many cases, charity has been pitifully inadequate and almost criminally misdirected.

The environmental causes of poverty are natural resources, bad climatic conditions, and improper housing. These would seem hardly to require any explanation. If the returns from the soil are poor, men who depend on these returns will be poor also; in seasons of excessive drought, moisture, heat or cold, a normal crop cannot be raised, and the result is the same as if the land were poor.

Improper housing has a very deteriorating effect on those who live just at the level of poverty, frequently forcing them down into the pauper class.

Although personal, social, and environmental causes of poverty will still operate for a long time, there are certain principles of relief, which, if adopted, will assist in solving this problem. Among these principles are: first, investigation of the causes; second, prevention of indiscriminate giving and of imposture; third, employment for all deserving cases; fourth, elevation of the health, habits, and life of the poor; fifth, unification of all relief work in the community under one form of charity organization. Investigation should be carried on by a trained case worker who has a knowledge of the community in which the investigation is to be made, and also a knowledge of the resources, legal, pecuniary, or otherwise. No one who cannot make his or her life successful should attempt this work. The social worker must have special training and the opportunity to study the methods by which many cases of severe poverty have been successfully adjusted. If the relief in any community is handled by well-meaning but unscientific philanthropists, the unworthy poor who live by their wits will take advantage of this. Thus one family will secure aid from several societies, each society being ignorant of the fact that any other



agency has contributed. One child of a given family may attend one Sunday School and receive aid from one church, while another does the same at another church. If a newspaper writes up a "story" about some family which is starving, at Christmas time, it may have ten turkeys and no coal to cook with, while equally needy families get no assistance. In one small town a social worker, finding a needy family, appealed to three public-spirited citizens for aid, each of whom felt unable to give for this case because he had already contributed for another case. On investigation, it was found that each of the three had given for one and the same case, and this family really did not require aid as much as it needed to have its wasteful living restrained, and its members put to work under the supervision of a specialist in relief work.

The scientific method of handling the relief problem is through some form of central organization of the various charitable and philanthropic agencies and institutions of the community. It is the duty of such an organization to keep a record of all applications for aid made at any of its co-operating associations. This record shows the number of members in the family, the age and health conditions of each member, the economic status of the family, the housing conditions, whether or not the mother works, whether or not they take in boarders or lodgers, and the life

history of both parents. After this investigation has been completed, a diagnosis of the situation is made and a plan for relief is prepared. All of this information, which is kept absolutely confidential, is filed at the central office.

Scientific charity has discovered that "the gift without the giver is bare," and for this reason is far more welcome to the deserving poor than unintelligent philanthropy, which is too often patronizing and offensive to self-respect. Scientific charity also serves as a moulder of sound opinion in the community through its reports, research and instruction, and thus aids in building up American democracy. Finally, as Dr. Hayes tells us: "Social justice and individual health and character constitute the foundation which must be laid for welfare—social justice which is yet to be attained; health, which requires youth spent in wholesome surroundings; character, which requires a childhood passed under the influence of ideals of decency, thrift, and service, and of a tolerably regular discipline."

#### PATHOLOGY OF CONDUCT

Under pathology of conduct we must consider the problems of delinquency and crime. Vice is an action injurious to the person who commits it and which brings its own penalty according to the operation of natural law. Since it is usually injurious to more than one person, society may be

forced to prohibit it. Crime is the violation of law. To drive your automobile past a trolley which has stopped to take on passengers may be a crime, but it is not a vice; it is a crime to carry a revolver in New York State, but not in Texas. Whether an act is a crime, is determined by law. A good test of the progressiveness of a community is whether it characterizes as crimes the actions which are most harmful. The reverse is true if actions are called crimes in order to vent a feeling of disgust or anger. A scientific penologist will graduate punishment, primarily, according to the harmfulness of the offense to society, and secondarily, according to the attractiveness of the offense to the criminal. Severer crimes are called felonies and are followed, upon conviction, by capital punishment or imprisonment for a term of years in a penal institution. Minor crimes are called misdemeanors and are punished by a fine or shorter imprisonment.

Causes of crime may be treated under three headings: one, heredity; two, acquired traits; and three, social environment. Dugdale, in "The Jukes," a study of 540 members of one degenerate family, shows there was an overwhelming proportion of criminals and paupers among its number. A large percentage of the inmates of our penal institutions have been ascertained to be of unhealthy parentage. The conclusion is that a criminal disposition is not necessarily hereditary, but every individual

is born with some point in his make-up at which he is liable to break. The criminal is merely a person who has been subjected to a strain under which he has broken. It is a mistaken idea that the criminal is a different sort of a being from other men.

A second group of causes of crime arises from acquired traits. The use of alcohol and drugs is one of the causes of over half the crimes committed and the sole cause of 16% of the crimes. Other vicious habits are also at the root of many crimes. Under this heading we must also consider the crimes which are due to the failure to acquire the traits which are necessary to good citizenship, such as moral obligation, self-control, willingness to work, and sense of justice. Because of lack of self-control, crimes of passion are frequently committed, and the boy who is unwilling to work naturally drifts into criminal ways of living.

Social environment contributes several causes for crime, for heredity itself is partly the result of the bad environment of the parents. Among the bad conditions of home environment which tend toward crime are orphanage, breaking up of homes owing to incompatibility of parents, desertion, or imprisonment of the bread-winner for delinquency and vice; lack of parental oversight, bad housing conditions, inability of foreign parents to accept American customs and laws, and child

labor, which takes children out of the home before their characters are formed and often places them in a demoralizing environment. Bad company is a fruitful factor in causing crime, which hardly needs to be discussed.

There is usually a very high percentage of illiteracy among criminals. Illiteracy and crime are not cause and effect, but spring from the same condition, namely, that those who do not work in school will be less literate and at the same time more easily influenced by bad environment than those who are under the continued influence of socially responsible people; but here again the problem is one of educational reorganization.

Furthermore, no great institution of society successfully attacks the problem of adjustment; for example, political disorganization produces the spoils system, which involves bribery and stealing of elections—crimes which attack the fundamentals of American democracy. The lack of morals in business affects the character of many who would never otherwise have become criminals. The congestion of population in great cities, resulting in the slums, is a fertile breeding ground for crime.

In considering the general principles of a sound policy for the treatment of crime, we must bear in mind four important facts: first, the distinction between sin and crime; sin is a matter of the spirit,



while crime is an act. The police system and the courts can act only when the sin of the heart has been revealed in an outward act of crime. Second, some of the worst sins cannot be reached by law; for example, the betrayal of a person's confidence may entirely escape any legal action. "The kiss of Judas can never be punished by the Judges." Yet our laws often visit condemnation upon persons who refuse to violate confidence. For example, in February, 1921, we read that Judge Ben Lindsey of the Denver Juvenile Court faced the alternative of paying a \$500 fine or of going to jail for contempt of court in refusing to reveal information given him under the seal of a confidential confession made to him by a witness in a murder trial. Third, there are criminals who are not guilty of sin technically. Judge Lindsey was a criminal in this particular instance, yet it seems absurd to refer in such terms to a man whose whole life has been one of integrity and public service. The number of men who deliberately intend to commit crime is comparatively small. Fourth, society has, nevertheless, the right to formulate a code of laws specifying which acts are, in the eyes of the law, crimes. This is a matter of self-preservation. Even the criminal himself admits the truth of this. A Sing Sing prisoner says: "We, who are really guilty of crime, realize and realize full well, that our incarceration is due to the breach of one or the

other of God's commands. We realize that society is justified in segregating us, both for its own protection and our own good, until such time as we may have recovered from our moral lapse and are again fit to associate with virtuous women and honest men."

Intelligent people can point out many defects in the criminal code of any particular state. With Omar, the Persian poet, they might say:

"Ah love! could you and I with Him conspire  
To grasp this sorry Scheme of Things entire,  
Would not we shatter it to bits—and then  
Remould it nearer to the Heart's Desire!"

The fact is that while it is conventional to call men who commit crimes criminals, the best experts in the study of crime and its treatment today are almost a unit in declaring that there is no criminal class and the picture that we form in our own minds of an individual of this class as a dangerous, warped, bestial being is very largely a creature of our own imagination. It is true that in our penal institutions there may be found occasional individuals who closely resemble such a being, but it is necessary for us to understand that he is what he is today not because he is a natural criminal, but because of the policy of treating crime that society as a whole endorsed in former times—a policy which is believed to be sound by the uninformed today. An Italian writer named Lombroso wrote

a book some fifty years ago called "The Delinquent Man," in which he drew the picture of a man of criminal type as a creature who had come into the world with certain facial, physical, even moral birth marks, the possession of which predestined him to a life of crime. For many years, students of this new science of criminology accepted the theory, but a few years ago Dr. Charles Goring, an English prison physician of well-recognized scientific attainments, after the examination of hundreds of convicts, came to the conclusion that "No evidence has emerged confirming the existence of a physical criminal type such as Lombroso and his disciples have described." Mr. Thomas Mott Osborne, one of America's greatest prison reformers, says: "For while there is no such thing as a criminal type, there is a 'prison type'—the more shame to us who are responsible for it. Forth from our penal institutions year after year, have come large numbers of men, broken in health and spirit, white-faced with the 'prison pallor,' husky in voice—hoarse from disuse, with restless, shifty eyes and the timidity of beaten dogs. But these are creatures whom we ourselves have fashioned; the finished product of our prison system. These are what we have to show for the millions of dollars wasted and the thousands of lives worse than wasted because of our denial of common-sense and humanity." The idea that the criminal is the

victim of a disease of criminality is fundamentally false. One writer says that in the prisoner we have found our atonement offering. "Society as we have formed it must have a goat; and we seize the weakest and most defenseless thing on which we can lay our hands."

The first principle in the treatment of crime is that we must think of the man or woman who has committed crime, as a human being and not as a wild animal to be hunted, caged, and broken. The second principle is the extension of the probation system. Under this system a person who has committed a crime is not imprisoned, but is put upon his good behavior and required to report every so often to a probation officer who is trained to study the individual offender and to understand and help him in his problems. Probation has been widely adopted in the treatment of juvenile offenders, but there has been a reluctance to extend it to the case of adults, particularly to men, partly under the mistaken belief that adults cannot be reformed and that society needs to be protected. We have yet to recognize that the criminal may be juvenile in mind if not in body.

A well-known probation officer tells this story. He became interested in the case of a young man of nineteen who had spent seven years of his life in reform schools and prisons for highway robberies. He had made over \$10,000 out of these

crimes. No sooner was he released from one sentence than he would hold up some other citizen. The officers of the law would promptly pounce upon him and back he would go for another term. He was apparently utterly callous, for he would take the pay-envelope of a poor workman returning home to his family with no more compunction than the plethoric purse of a wealthy banker. The probation officer studied him, won his confidence, and found that he had never had a friend and was the product of a neglected childhood. The officer finally induced the judge to put the young man on probation under his charge. Since then, for a period of five years, during which he obtained honest employment and received the steady confidence and advice of the probation officer, the young man has been an honest, industrious, and law-abiding member of the community in which he was placed. That he was subject to severe temptation was revealed when it became known that on one occasion while driving a van loaded with goods worth thousands of dollars, he was held up by two of his former comrades in crime, who urged him to let them drive it off and leave him bound, promising to share the proceeds with him. When their arguments were unavailing, they endeavored to hold him up at the point of a gun, but he ducked and drove his car away in a



storm of bullets. Yet Lombroso would have said that this man was a predestined criminal.

A third principle is the indeterminate sentence. Most convicts admit that they ought to be punished, but each believes that he has been punished more severely than others who are as guilty as he. The fact is that society in its attempt to adjust the penalty of crimes acts just as ludicrously as did the Mikado who boasted that his object all sublime was to make the punishment fit the crime.

"Imagine a hospital at the entrance of which stands the office of the doctor. Into this office steps every patient who is to be admitted to the hospital. The doctor diagnoses each case as carefully as he can, in view of his crowded waiting-room, and then prescribes for each, in advance, the exact period of time he is to remain in the hospital. To this man, sick with the measles, he allots three weeks; this one, with small-pox, three months; this one, with a case of the grippe, two weeks; this one, with tuberculosis—well, a man with a severe case the doctor considers too much of a bother, so he kills the tubercular patient and gets him off his mind and out of the way.

"With the exception of this last man the patients come out at the end of their exactly specified time. The man with the measles is not cured, but he goes out and spreads the disease through the city until he can be caught and interned in another

hospital for another specified term. The man with the small-pox is not cured; but he goes out in his turn, to spread his disease through the community until he is caught. The man with the grippe is over his mild attack before half his term expires, but he cannot leave; he must remain—at the expense of the community, until his term is up. But in the meantime, he catches the measles or the small-pox or both; and when he goes out, it is his turn to poison the community. And all this time the cheerful doctor is busy prescribing for the less dangerous patients who are coming in and paying no attention to the more dangerous ones who are going out.” This is, of course, contrary to our practice of treating contagious diseases, but our treatment of crime is exactly as ridiculous.

If every crime had but one penalty, commitment to an institution until such a time as experts should judge the criminal worthy of being set at liberty, a great step would be taken by society in reducing crime. “We do not send men to prison to be punished; we punish men by sending them to prison.” For while society has the right to send a man to prison, it has no right to take away his health, his capacity for work, his sanity of mind, his faith in God. It is only human nature to retaliate for such an undeserved injury. Imprisonment is not an end in itself; it is only a

means to an end. It may be thought that it is rather exaggerated to say that prison life destroys the health, working capacity, and sanity of prisoners. Yet Mr. Osborne brings this indictment against the old-style prison. First, prison cells are mere holes in the stone wall: six feet long, six feet high, and three feet wide, damp and insubstantial, in which men are sometimes locked from sixteen to twenty-three hours out of the twenty-four. Such confinement is unnatural and breeds disease. Second, there is no organized and efficient system of labor. Such labor as exists is mere slavery and men are broken down under this system. Third, silence is enforced. Human beings can't be healthy in body or soul if they are deprived of the power of talking with their fellows. Fourth, the monotony of prison life is destructive alike to mind and body. Day after day, week after week, month after month, year after year, the same dreary routine breaks down the spirit of the bravest. Fifth, the constant spying which the prison system makes necessary creates a condition of unstable, nervous equilibrium which the slightest accident may turn to violent insanity. Sixth, the brutality of guards, a perfectly natural product of the prison system, turns the prisoner into a being who lives for revenge. Seventh, denial of any responsibility to a man for his own acts or the acts of others, destroys all possibility of

rebuilding his moral foundations. It is deadly for character formation to take away the moulding influence of choice. "It is liberty alone that fits men for liberty." This suggests the next principle in the treatment of crime—the establishment of mutual welfare leagues in prisons.

Mr. Osborne describes the establishment of such a league in Auburn Prison. He made the experiment of spending a week actually in confinement, living exactly as the convicts lived in this prison.

"For many years I wondered how and when such a system of self-government could be put in operation; and to find light on this subject was one of the reasons for my week's imprisonment. Thanks to the chance which sent me to the basket shop and to my partner, Jack Murphy, an answer to the problem was found.

As Jack and I stood talking at our work-table, the conversation drifted to the long and dreary Sundays. Jack agreed with all those with whom I had talked that Sunday afternoon was the worst thing in prison life. I said that I felt sure the prison authorities would be glad to give the men some sort of exercise or recreation on Sunday afternoons, if it were practicable. Then ensued the following conversation:

"You can't ask the officers to give up their

day off, and you don't think the men could be trusted by themselves, do you?"

"Why not?" asks Jack.

I look at him, inquiringly.

"Why, look here, Tom!" In his eagerness Jack comes around to my side of our working table. "I know this place through and through. I know these men; I've studied 'em for years. And I tell you that the big majority of these fellows in here will be square with you, if you give 'em a chance. The trouble is, we ain't treated on the level. I could tell you all sorts of frame-ups they give us. Now, if you trust a man, he'll try and do what's right; sure he will. That is, most men will. Of course, there are a few that won't. There are some dirty curs—degenerates—that will make trouble, but there ain't so very many of those.

"Look at that road work. Haven't the men done fine? How many prisoners have you had out on the roads? About one hundred and thirty. And you ain't had a single runaway yet. And if there should be any runaway, you can just bet we'd show 'em what we think about it."

"Do you really believe, Jack, that the Superintendent and the Warden could trust you fellows out in the yard on Sunday afternoons in summer?"

"Sure they could," responds Jack, his face beginning to flush with pleasure at the thought.



"And there could be a band concert, and we'd have a fine time. And it would be a good sight better for us than being locked in our cells all day. We'd have fewer fights on Monday, I know that."

"Yes, it would certainly be an improvement on spending the afternoons in your cells," I remarked. "Then in rainy weather you could march to the chapel and have some sort of lecture or debate . . . . But how about the discipline? Would you let everybody out into the yard? What about those bad actors who don't know how to behave? Won't they quarrel and fight and try to escape?"

"But don't you see, Tom, that they couldn't do that without putting the whole thing on the bum, and depriving the rest of us of our privileges? You needn't be afraid we couldn't handle those fellows all right. Or why not let out only those men who have a good conduct bar? That's it," he continues, enthusiastically warming up to the subject, "that's it, Tom, a Good Conduct League. And give the privilege of Sunday afternoons to the members of the League. I'll tell you, Tom! You know last year we got up an Anti-Swearing League here in this shop, and we had a penalty for every oath or dirty word. The forfeits were paid in matches. You know matches are pretty scarce here, don't you? Well, we had a grand success with that League. But this Good Conduct League

would be a much bigger thing. It would be just great. And go! Sure it'll go."

This system accomplished many reforms in prison conditions which had been most obnoxious, and has been widely copied, a modified form of it being in operation in the Essex County Penitentiary at Caldwell.

A fifth problem is the establishment of farm colonies in place of the towering masses of gray stone which have characterized our penal institutions with few changes for over a hundred years. Here the men are put to work under healthful surroundings, housed in cottages, and built up in body and soul.

A sixth principle relates to the treatment of juvenile offenders. For these there should be special courts where the judge is more a kindly father than a threatening official of the law, and a reform should be made in our institutions for juvenile delinquents. These too often in the past have been breeding places of crime, and if a boy was not a criminal when he went in, he could not fail to be one when he came out. This is a problem closely related to vocational education and must be studied and settled by experts along that line.

The historic attitude toward the treatment of crime has been three-fold. First, retaliation: "An eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth," society taking vengeance upon the offender. Second,

deterrence: to make the criminal an object lesson to would-be offenders by showing how retribution follows crime. Third, reformation: to make the wrong-doer of his own accord give up wrong ways and restore him to a useful place in society. The first is utterly wrong. It is bad when a man doesn't get sufficient punishment; it encourages crime by making him think he "can get away with it." It is bad when a man gets too much punishment, for it causes crime, by making him bitter and revengeful, and it is contrary to religion. "Vengeance—it is mine; I will repay," sayeth the Lord. As a deterrent, punishment is utterly futile. All the prison penalties in the world will never be able to stop crime. The only method which stands the test of being efficient, humane, and just, is reformation.

"The belief that men could be turned through fear from their natural selves to something that some other man wants them to become is the greatest and most pathetic fallacy of the centuries."

Thus sings the poet of Reading Gaol:

"I know not whether Laws be right  
Or whether Laws be wrong;  
All that we know who lie in gaol  
Is that the wall is strong;  
And that each day is like a year,  
A year whose days are long.

“But this I know, that every Law  
That Men have made for Man  
Since first Man took his brother's life,  
And the sad world began,  
But straws the wheat and saves the chaff  
With a most evil fan.

This too I know—and wise it were  
If each could know the same—  
That every prison that men build  
Is built with bricks of shame,  
And bound with bars lest Christ should see  
How men their brothers maim.

With bars they blur the gracious moon,  
And blind the goodly sun;  
And they do well to hide their Hell,  
For in it things are done  
That Son of God nor son of Man  
Ever should look upon!”

#### PATHOLOGY OF THE MIND

Pathology of the mind differs from other diseases met with in the field of medicine or in the study of human society because of its greater importance to society. Mental defects influence the individual in his social relations, and are important because of their prevalence and because of the apparent tendency toward increase. In 1918 in private and public institutions in this country

there were 239,820 insane persons, an increase of 6,947 in one year; there were 38,381 feeble-minded persons, an increase in one year of 2,567; there were 12,000 epileptics, an increase in one year of 1,143. These people are utterly incapable of caring for themselves and constitute an absolute economic loss to our country. The significance of the great annual increase can be better understood when we realize that provision for caring for these classes is very inadequate. Our states are prepared at present to give adequate care to but ten per cent of the feeble-minded and ninety per cent of the insane. One authority likens the human organism to a key, and the environment by which it is surrounded, to a lock. In the case of a normal man the key fits the lock. Another way of expressing this relation is to say that most men respond to ideas of social obligation, whereas the abnormal either do not respond at all or else too much and too readily, owing to a lack of mental balance. The social life of men is dependent upon the possibility of common thoughts, desires, and acts, where men are placed under substantially the same conditions of life. The mentally pathological human being either cannot or will not accept the common judgments or act under the common restraints. Two general classes of mentally unbalanced are recognized: the insane and the feeble-minded. Strictly speaking, a feeble-minded per-



son is one whose mind has stopped developing at a certain stage, while the mind of an insane person may have developed, but has suffered some disturbance leading to abnormal thought and feeling. This difference should be clearly kept in mind, for many people are not able to distinguish the enfeebled condition of mind resulting from insanity, from the evident lack of mind power associated with true states of feeble-mindedness.

### FEEBLE-MINDEDNESS

Feeble-mindedness is the most common variety of inherited abnormality, over 60% being due to heredity. The rest of the cases are caused after birth by illness or accidents. It has been estimated that there is one feeble-minded among every 300 persons. Care should be used in distinguishing true feeble-minded persons from mentally-retarded persons. No matter how much training or education is given the genuinely feeble-minded person, he can never advance beyond a certain point. While the mentally retarded person may seem in comparison with others of his own age to be feeble-minded, yet with proper methods of education and patience he can be brought up to the normal standards. The feeble-minded, notwithstanding their age, are always children, and are usually grouped in one of three classes, according to their mentality. About 10% are idiots

who never attain to the mental development of a three-year-old child. A second group, the imbeciles, never attain a mentality beyond that of a child of seven years. They are illiterate, but can play, talk, and be taught some useful things. The intelligence of the third group, the morons, corresponds to that of a child from eight to twelve years old. They can be taught to read and write and to earn their living in a simple manner, if under constant supervision and protection.

One of the leading American authorities on the subject has said: "These defective children seem to be no respectors of family, station, or caste. They come from the homes of the rich and the poor alike. The learned and the illiterate share alike in this misfortune. They are found in the dense population of cities, amidst the ceaseless noise and smoke of manufacturing, traffic, and transportation, and they are not strangers to rural homes where nature revels in sunshine and songs of birds. Every family in the land into which children are born faces the possibility of having one or more defectives among the number."

Yet, it is probably true in the case of a child feeble-minded from birth, that there was in the family some hereditary taint, perhaps dating back to some carelessly-living ancestor, although some children who seem to have been feeble-

minded from birth may have been so as a direct result of disease or accident during infancy which was not considered at the time to be of serious consequence.

Dr. Goddard, while director of the researches at Vineland, New Jersey, made a very interesting study of all the members of a family in that state who were descended from a Revolutionary soldier. In this study, "The Kallikak Family," he found that there were two branches: one sprang from the union of this soldier with a feeble-minded woman; and the other from the later marriage of the soldier with a woman of good heredity. In the good branch of the family there was not a single case of feeble-mindedness and practically all members were unusually useful citizens. But the bad branch of the family produced several hundred individuals, a large number of whom were feeble-minded or insane and a source of moral contamination, menacing the integrity and safety of the state. The Kallikaks are but one of several degenerate families in this country, and it has been fully proved that most of their trouble is the result of bad heredity, for when a branch of one of these families has moved and established itself in a new environment, whether in a city or in an agricultural region, it has not seemed able to shake off the debasing life, characteristic of it in its original home. The conclusion is

that feeble-mindedness is an American social problem of utmost gravity, and one which must be studied and remedied in order that our American Democracy may be preserved.

### INSANITY

There is a very great need for a more intelligent understanding of what insanity is. To most people an insane person is thought to be one who is "beside himself," whose speech is incoherent and whose actions are either silly or violent. While these traits are found in insanity, not all insane people manifest them. In consequence, many insane people are permitted to mingle in society today frequently with disastrous effects both to themselves and to those with whom they have relations. The average person is so poorly informed as to the real nature of insanity that if called upon to pass judgment on the soundness or unsoundness of mind of another, he may do him a grievous injury unintentionally. In the newspapers we frequently read of juries turning a clever insane person loose to prey upon society, for some insane people are neither incoherent in speech nor violent in their usual actions, but on the contrary, may seem to possess unusual strong mental power and force of personality. Such persons are, of course, especially dangerous, for they often involve themselves and their families

in financial ruin and social disgrace for which they are entirely irresponsible, and against which it is the duty of society to protect the innocent.

Insanity has been defined as a disease of the mind; in other words, a person is insane if his mind doesn't work along the lines usual to one in his circumstances. This would almost imply that an unusually brilliant man or a genius isn't sane, and one great writer devoted a long book to prove that genius is a form of insanity. In this connection, we are reminded of the story of the old Quaker who remarked to his sister: "Elizabeth, I think that all the world, except thee and me, is crazy, and sometimes I have my doubts of thee." The moral of this story is that all of us have our breaking point at which the slightest shock, worry, illness, or violent emotion may plunge us over the border-line separating actions which are sane and those which are not. If, thereafter, we continue to be irrational and show no evidence of returning to sane living, our mental condition will grow progressively worse until all the world recognizes that a state of insanity exists in our mental attitude.

Physicians formerly made a distinction between most temporary unsound states of mind and genuine insanity, but the tendency of late years is to believe that almost all forms of insanity are merely complexes which can be scien-



tifically treated, thus restoring the patient to normal mentality. However, where the disease of the mind results from or causes (authorities differ as to the order here) an alteration of the brain structure, such as an actual destruction of the brain tissue, all that can be done is to arrest the progress of the mental disorder, leaving the mind permanently weakened to some degree. Even this is not possible in mental disorders due to certain specific poisons, such as alcohol, or to physical diseases, such as syphilis.

Insanity is not hereditary any more than a physical disease, but if the parent is alcoholic, syphilitic, or tubercular, the children usually inherit a weak nervous system, lacking in balance, and with a definite tendency towards some form of abnormality. It is also true that if a person is born of strong heredity and takes good care of his body, he is far less liable to go insane under unusual strains of living.

Among the disorders of the mind usually encountered by physicians are physical disorders of sensation accompanied by hallucinations of hearing, sight, taste, and smell. The patient imagines he sees someone in the room with him when no one is present beside himself, he hears mysterious voices whispering in his ear. He may know that they are unreal and yet be unable to rid himself of them. These hallucinations may have a strong

effect on his emotions, making him unusually depressed or unwarrantedly elated. He sometimes will tell others of them, but at other times he is cunning and secretive about them, and they may cause him to act in a manner entirely contrary to his usual way of doing things, even to the extent of committing crimes. It is no use to argue with him in regard to the reality of these hallucinations.

Impairment of judgment commonly accompanies mental disease and leads to the formation of delusions. A delusion is a faulty judgment not in accord with facts. Persons thus deranged believe they are being persecuted, that there is a conspiracy against them on the part of their friends or relatives; they may believe themselves dying of some terrible disease, the falsity of which idea cannot be impressed upon them by the best physicians; or they may imagine themselves to be Napoleon or Joan of Arc or some other great person in history. Such persons write letters to authorities complaining of other people, and finally become actually dangerous, as they may attack and even kill the unfortunate object of their delusions. Yet, in all other matters, such insane people may seem perfectly normal and indeed of superior intelligence. If they are successful in concealing their hallucinations or delusions from the public, they may go through life without

any restraint. Other insane people have certain periods when their mind is totally disordered and when anyone could tell that they were insane, while at other times they are apparently perfectly normal. This is a very common form called manic-depressive insanity. Frequently as the mental disease progresses, the periods of sanity grow shorter and shorter, and finally vanish entirely, and we speak of such a person as in a state of chronic dementia. The final stage of mental disease is a gloomy one. The mind gradually disappears entirely and the person deteriorates into a sluggish brute and finally dies. Authorities now believe that the form of insanity called paresis is invariably caused by syphilis.

#### THE PATHOLOGY OF THE SENSES

In our consideration of the problem of pathology of the senses, we are concerned with two groups: blindness and deafness. These two conditions may very often be associated with other forms of social pathology. The loss of sight tends to produce a morbid condition of mind which may lead to the breaking point referred to in our discussion on pathology of the mind. The same is true, although to a less degree, of the deaf. Pathological blindness varies, from the condition of those born totally blind to an impairment of vision which pre-

vents a person from distinguishing form or color, counting the fingers upon the hand one foot from the eyes, or reading and writing ordinary print. The number of blind persons in this country has been variously estimated, but there are perhaps 100,000, sight of half of whom might have been preserved if medical science had attained in earlier times the knowledge in treating this condition which it has today. The great majority of cases of blindness in infancy are due to lack of proper medical treatment at birth. Many states have recognized the importance of this fact, and have passed laws compelling proper medical attention at this time. Often, cases of eye strain and resulting blindness are due to poor lighting. Retardation in school is frequently due to an unrecognized defect of vision, and careful medical inspection is necessary to remove this cause of blindness. Blindness has increased in our industries owing to accidents and to occupational conditions. Some processes employ poisons which are especially injurious to the eyesight. Miss Helen Keller, herself blind and deaf, who has secured a splendid education and has become one of the leaders of social work in America, sums up the attitude of the blind as follows:

“It is to live long, long days—and life is made up of days. It is to live immured, baffled, impotent, all God’s world shut out. It is to sit help-

less, defrauded, while your spirit strains and tugs at its fetters, and your shoulders ache for the burden they are denied—the life burden of labor.”

It is highly necessary that the blind should be educated, and exceedingly desirable that this education should be given in special schools, because ordinary schools are not properly equipped for such training.

Louis Braille in 1829 invented a system whereby books for the blind could be prepared. This consists of combinations of raised dots arranged in various groups. A special kind of typewriter was invented for the use of the blind, but today the blind are being taught the “touch system” and can operate any machine. A great number of books for the blind are turned out every year and are carried through the United States mail free of postal charges, so that the blind may obtain books without expense.

State governments have established workshops for the blind where they are taught trades and enabled to become self-supporting members of the community. According to Helen Keller, the best agencies at work for the blind are those which first spread a knowledge of how to prevent blindness; second, teach the public about the blind; third, establish adequate schools and improve those which exist; fourth, open workshops and facilitate the marketing of their products;



fifth, assist the blind worker while he is establishing himself in business and provide the materials of his work at minimum cost; sixth, seek out the blind in their homes to teach them to read and write, and to work; seventh, enlarge the variety of self-supporting occupations in which they can engage; eighth, register all blind children and see that they reach proper institutions.

While the deaf are not as handicapped in their struggle for a living as the blind, nevertheless, since a large proportion of them are not able to speak as well, it will be seen that they constitute a badly hampered class socially. The constitutional weakness which predisposes one to deafness may be inherited, but it is more often due to diseases of childhood, such as scarlet fever, measles, or adenoids. In maturity, influenza or chronic colds frequently lead to deafness in old age. More careful inspection of the nose and throat, the prompt removal of adenoids, and the better treatment of infectious diseases will greatly reduce the amount of deafness. The deaf-mute can be trained to talk by feeling the vibrations of the vocal organs, touching the throat with his hand, or by imitating the movements of the organs of speech.

There have been several famous cases of the education of those both blind and deaf. Miss Laura Bridgeman, a New Hampshire girl, in the

early part of the nineteenth century, under the teaching of Samuel G. Howe, became an international marvel because of the apparent hopelessness of her case at first and of the wonderfully rapid progress she made in intelligence. A more recent one has already been referred to: Miss Helen Keller of Alabama, under the guidance of Miss Annie M. Sullivan who devoted many years of her life to the purpose. Miss Keller achieved a brilliant record in Radcliffe College and has since devoted her life to the improvement of the condition of others less fortunate.

#### PRINCIPLES OF A SOUND POLICY FOR EUGENICS

Eugenics is the study of all measures which may be used to improve the racial stock, either physically or mentally. Scientists have proved that plants and animals today are vastly different in structure and usefulness from plants and animals of an earlier period of the world's history. Biologists tell us that the horse of today is the descendant of a little creature no larger than a rabbit, which lived on the earth many, many thousands of years ago. We probably all have read of the wonderful new kinds of plants and flowers which Luther Burbank has produced by studying the characteristics of older types and then modifying their traits by careful cross-fertilization, eliminating the characteristics of those varieties which are

less useful to man. The former is an example of natural selection: Nature herself has improved heredity. The latter is an example of artificial selection: man added his intelligence to aid Nature in her work. The time has seemed to come when man should intelligently aid Nature in improving the human stock as well. This can be accomplished in two ways: first, by encouraging the physically and mentally sound of our population to have more children; and second, by preventing the mentally and physically unsound from having children, or at least, by restricting the numbers of such.

The first is called positive eugenics; the latter, negative eugenics. Among various proposals to further positive eugenics are the following: first, a "back to the farm" movement; second, better urban housing conditions; third, economic aid given large families by taking into consideration the number of children in determining wages of the head of the family, and by mothers' and widows' pensions; fourth, the establishment of higher ideals of family life; fifth, the adoption of medical regulations of a eugenic nature; sixth, education in eugenics.

Negative eugenics can be accomplished by segregation or the shutting away from society of those who are unfit to produce healthy children. Another method urged by some as more economical

than segregation, is sterilization. By this is meant a surgical operation upon the unfit person which will effectually prevent him or her from being a father or mother. Some twelve states have passed laws providing for sterilization, among them New York and New Jersey, which could apply to confirmed criminals as well as the mentally pathological, but no operations have been performed under these laws. But this plan of sterilization is always open to attack on the ground that it is an infringement of the rights of the individual. This would not seem to be a sound objection because it is the custom of society to deny rights to individuals which would be of injury to the community as a whole. A more serious objection is the misuse which might result from such a law. Such an operation might be performed without exercising proper care and sound judgment, and thus deprive the community of the life or service of an individual who might at some future date have become normal. No such objections, however, can be raised against segregation. In fact, the chief opposition to segregation has been on the ground of the great expense of establishing a perfect working system to bring this about. It would be worse than useless to attempt to adopt this policy unless it were systematically and thoroughly carried out. Proper segregation would entail first, a classification of the entire popula-

tion, and the establishment of enough hospitals, institutions, and farm colonies properly to take care of all the mentally pathological persons in the country. In answer to the objection of the cost of such a program, it should be pointed out that the initial outlay must be looked upon as a long-time investment, and that its returns will eventually wipe out the first cost. The cost objection should be considered in connection with the following statement from H. H. Hart of the Russell Sage Foundation:

"Of the 10,000 (estimated) mentally defective women of child-bearing age in the state of New York, only about 1,750 are cared for in institutions designated for the care of the feeble-minded, and about 4,000 are confined in insane asylums, reformatories and prisons, while at least 4,000 (probably many more) are at large in the community.

"With reference to the 4,000 feeble-minded who are confined in hospitals for insane, prisons and reformatories, and almshouses, the state would actually be the financial gainer by providing for them in custodial institutions. At the Rome Custodial Asylum 1,230 inmates are humanely cared for at \$2.39 per week. The same class of inmates is being cared for in the boys' reformatories at \$4.66; in the hospitals for insane at \$3.90; in the girls' reformatory at \$5.47, and in the alms-



house at about \$1.25. If all of these persons were transferred to an institution conducted on the scale of the Rome Custodial Asylum, they would not only relieve these other institutions of inmates who do not belong there and who are a great cause of care and anxiety, but they would make room for new patients of the proper class, obviating the necessity for enlargement. The money thus saved would build ample institutions for the care of these people at a much less per capita cost than that of the prisons, reformatories, and asylums where they are now kept, and the annual per capita cost of maintenance would be reduced from 20 to 50 per cent, except in almshouses, where the cost would be increased about \$1 per week, but the almshouse inmates compose only a small fraction of the whole number.

"I desire to emphasize the fact that one-half of the feeble-minded of this state are already under public care, but that two-thirds of those are cared for in the wrong kind of institution. This difficulty can be remedied without increasing the public burden in the manner already suggested. That leaves 15,000 feeble-minded for whom no provision has yet been made. It must be remembered that these 15,000 persons are being cared for in some way. We do not allow them to starve to death, but they are fed, clothed, and housed, usually by the self-denying labor of their relatives.

Thousands of poor mothers are giving up their lives largely to the care of a feeble-minded child, but these mothers are unable to keep them from becoming a menace to the community, and, in the long run, it would be far more economical for the community to segregate them in institutions than to allow them to remain in their houses, only to become ultimately paupers, criminals, or parents of children like themselves."

It has already been said that at present we are giving the institutional care necessary in most cases of feeble-mindedness, for their own happiness and future protection of society, to not more than one-tenth of the whole number. Superintendent E. R. Johnstone of the Training School at Vineland, New Jersey, in describing the best way of treating the problem, says:

"This problem can best be solved by the establishment of special classes in the public schools for all who lag more than one year behind. If for no other reason, the normal children should be relieved of the drag of these backward pupils. The special classes will become the clearing houses. The training should be largely manual and industrial and as practical as possible. As the number of classes in any school district increases, the classification will sift out those who are merely backward and a little coaching and special attention will return them to the grades. The others—the

morons—will remain, and as long as they are not dangerous to society, they may live at home and attend the special classes. As they grow older they will be transferred to proper custodial institutions. In the city districts, where there are many classes, this will occur between twelve and sixteen years of age. In the country districts it will occur earlier.

“These institutions will be the training schools and will form the center for the care of the other two groups, *i. e.*, the imbeciles and idiots. Branching out from the training schools should be colonies (unless the parent institution is on a very large tract of ground, which is most advisable). These colonies, or groups of comparatively small buildings, should be of two classes. For the imbeciles, simple buildings costing from two to four hundred dollars per inmate. The units might well be one hundred. A unit providing four dormitories, bath house, dining-halls, employees’ buildings, pump house, water tank, sewage disposal, laundry, stables and farm buildings can be built within the above figures providing the buildings are of simple construction and one story. This has been done at Vineland by having the larger imbecile and moron boys make the cement blocks of which the buildings are constructed.

“The colony should be located on rough uncleared land—preferably forest land. Here these

unskilled fellows find happy and useful occupations, waste humanity taking waste land and thus not only contributing toward their own support, but also making over land that would otherwise be useless.

"One reason for building inexpensive buildings is that having cleared a large tract the workers can be moved to another waste tract and, by brushing, clearing of rocks and draining, increase its value sufficiently to keep on moving indefinitely.

"Many of these boy-men make excellent farmers, dairymen, swineherds, and poultry raisers under proper direction, and in the winter they can work in the tailor, paint, carpenter, mattress and mat shops.

"Nor need this be confined to the males alone. The girl-women raise poultry, small fruits, and vegetables very successfully. They pickle and can the products of the land, and in winter do knitting and sewing of all kinds.

"No manufacturer of today lets the by-product of his plant go to waste as society wastes the energies of this by-product of humanity. And the feeble-minded are happy when they have occupations suited to their needs. If one will but see them when they are set at occupations within their comprehension and ability, he will quickly understand the joy they get out of congenial work."

Our conclusion concerning the problem of social

pathology is that it is the duty of society to transmit its social inheritance unimpaired to future generations, and that good Americans ought to study the nature of the various pathological conditions in society and the causes therefore, and to favor the adoption of such eugenic measures as an enlightened public opinion will support.

## QUESTIONS

1. How much poverty is there in your own community? What are the principal causes?

2. What is your community doing to prevent or remedy poverty? Find out definitely how poor relief is carried on.

3. What further steps or agencies could your community adopt to improve conditions along this line?

4. Some believe that "by charity we do an injury to society by saving alive the weaker people." Discuss this view pro and con.

5. Point out several unwise ways of giving to the poor.

6. Give a classification of crimes; of criminals.

7. Attempt to ascertain the cost of crime in your community.

8. Pick out six crimes reported in your daily newspaper as occurring in your community and classify them. What were the causes in each



case? How was each dealt with? What do you think of this treatment?

9. How can a moron be recognized? Just what is the danger to society of feeble-mindedness?

10. Why is a scientific and thorough care of pathological persons cheaper to society than no care at all?



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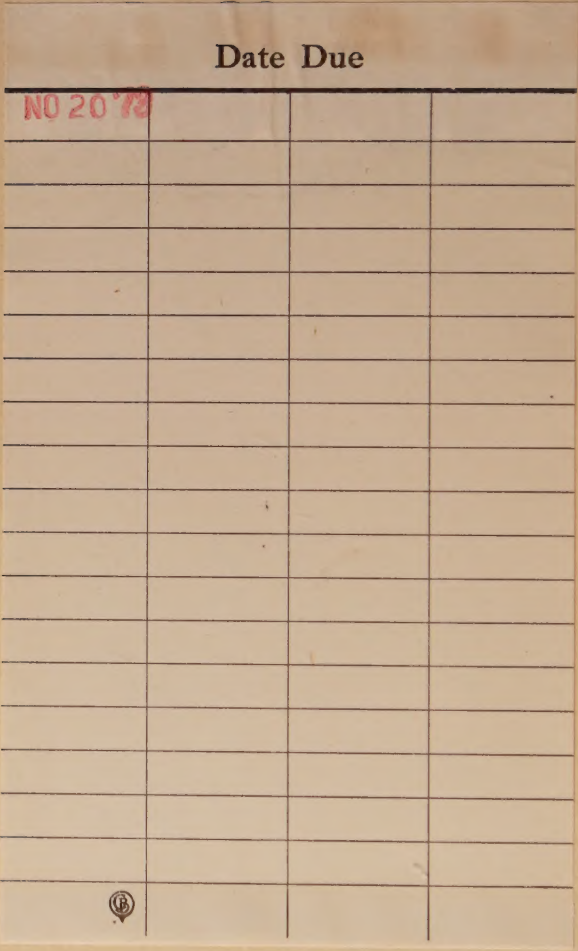
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